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[PARTS I-II

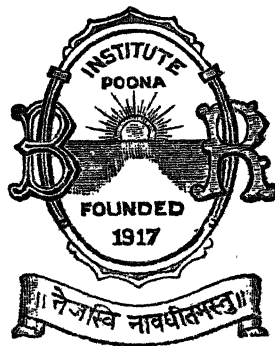
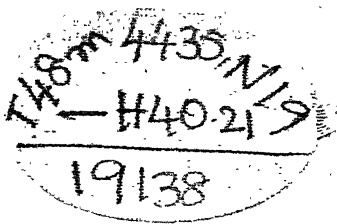
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Research Institute,
Volume XXI
1939-40**

EDITED BY

A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, M.A.,

AND

R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., Ph.D.



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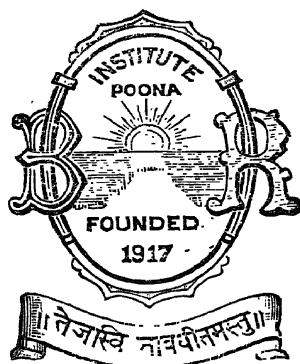
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OCTOBER 1939 - JANUARY 1940

[PARTS I-II

PAISĀCĪ LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE ¹

BY

Dr. A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., D.Litt.

[1. Introductory remarks. 2. Vararuci on Paisācī. 3. Caṇḍa on Paisācī. 4. Namisādbu on Paisācī. 5. Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara and Siṃharāja on Paisācī. 6. Hemacandra and his followers on Cūlikā Paisācī. 7. Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya on Paisācī. 8. Additional varieties of Paisācī given by Rāmaśarman. 9. Critical estimate of this survey. 10. Background of Hemacandra's description. 11. Critical remarks on the facts given by Puruṣottama etc. 12. Essential traits of basic Paisācī. 13. The so-called Śaurasena Paisācī. 14. Paisācī, a Prākṛit dialect. 15. Attempts to find Paisācī traits elsewhere. 16. Dravidian affinities of Paisācī. 17. Spelling of the name of this language. 18. Sub-dialects of Paisācī. 19. The sub-dialect Cūlikā Paisācī and Sogdian. 20. Grammarians on the meaning of Paisācī. 21-22. Modern scholars on Paisācī and its significance. 23. Different opinions on the original home of Paisācī: Statement of the views of Konow, Grierson, Keith etc. and their critical estimate. 24. Possible conclusion. 25. Conventions about the use of Paisācī. 26. Literature in Paisācī: Guṇāḍhya and his Brhatkathā; three Sanskrit versions of the lost work; nature etc. of Brhatkathā; references to Guṇāḍhya and his work; and the date of Guṇāḍhya. 27. Paisācī thrown into the back-ground. 28. Compositions in Paisācī by Hemacandra, Jayasīṃha, Yaśapāla, Dharmavardhana, Jinaprabha and Somasundara —Glossary of Paisācī words in the Grammars.]

¹ As the Springer Research Scholar, University of Bombay, I have been collecting material for a critical survey of Prākṛit literature. This essay, dealing with Paisācī language and literature, covers only a part of it. Portions of this Essay formed the basis of a paper which I read before a learned audience in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, on the 1st, Feb, 1940.

1. *Paiśācī* is an important *Prākṛit* dialect and deserves a thorough study for various reasons: it is one of the earlier *Prākṛit* dialects to be grouped with *Pāli*, *Ardhamāgadhī* and *Inscriptional Prākṛits*; its phonology also is much archaic showing closer relation with *Sanskrit* and *Pāli* than with later *dramatic Prākṛits*; it has attracted the attention of the earliest *Prākṛit* grammarian, and even the later grammarians have devoted a good deal of space to it; the language has almost disappeared at an earlier age, though tradition tells us that *Bṛhat-kathā* of *Guṇāḍhya* was written in this language; the name of the language¹ has gathered a mythical halo about it; and lastly some of the eminent orientalist like *Konow* and *Grierson* have discussed different problems connected with *Paiśācī*.

In the absence of any *Paiśācī* text prior to the grammarians, we are forced to see what the grammarians have to say about *Paiśācī* and its linguistic traits. If we take an exhaustive survey of the description of *Paiśācī* given in the various *Prākṛit* grammars, we would be in a position to see what the grammarians meant by *Paiśācī*.

2. *Vararuci*, the earliest *Prākṛit* grammarian known to us, describes *Paiśācī* in his *Prākṛta-prakāśa*,² chap. 10. He calls it the language of the *Piśācas*, and then he describes its deviations from *Śaurasenī*: that is how the first two *sūtras* might be understood. The second *sūtra* may also mean that *Śaurasenī* is the basis of *Paiśācī*. (a) The intervocalic (or non-initial and non-conjunct) third and fourth letters of each class are substituted by the first and second respectively (*sūtra* 3); thus we get *gakanam* = *gaganam*, *mekho* = *meghaḥ*, *rācā* = *rājā*, *niccharo* = *nirjharah*, *vaṭisaṁ* = *baḍiṣam*, *Dasavatano* = *Daśavadanaḥ*, *Māthavo* = *Mādhavaḥ*, *Gopiṁto* = *Govindaḥ*, *Kesapo* = *Keśavaḥ*, *saraphasaṁ* = *śrabhasam*, *salapho* = *śalabhaḥ*, *saṁgāmo* = *saṁgrāmaḥ*, *vaggho* = *vyāghraḥ*, *gamanam* = *gamanam*. It must be remembered

¹ There is a *Sanskrit* commentary on *Bhagavadgītā*, *Paiśācabhāṣyam* by name (Government collection No. 57 of 1872-73 now in the Bhandarkar Oriental R. Institute); and secondly Mr. D. B. Diskalkar draws my attention to a phrase *Śrī-piśāca-caturvedasya* in a copper seal found in Cutch and the letters look like those of the 7th century A. D. Apparently beyond the similarity of name, they have no bearing on the study of *Paiśācī* language.

² Edited by E. B. Cowell, Second Issue, Trübner and Co., London 1868.

that these illustrations are supplied by Bhāmaha who has written a commentary on the sūtras of Vararuci. Then we have only *n*: *talunī* = *taruṇī* (Sū. 5). (b) The conjuncts *sṭa*, *sna* and *rya* are simplified by anaptyxis as *saṭa*, *sana* and *ria*: *kaṣṭam mama vattai* (v. l. *vattadi*) = *kaṣṭam mama vartate*, *sanānam* = *snānam*, *saneho* = *snehaḥ*, *bhāriū* = *bhūryā* (Sūtras 6-8). Further *jña*, *nya* and *nya* are changed to *ñja*¹: *viñjāto* = *viññātaḥ*, *savvañjo* = *sarvajñah*, *kañjā* = *kanyā* (Sū. 9-10). The Śauraseni *jj* is changed *cca*: *kaccaṁ* = *kāryam* (Sū. 11). (c) In declension *rājan* gives some double forms: *rācinā*, *rañjā* = *rājñā*, *rācino*, *rañjo* = *rājñah*, *rācini*, *rañji* = *rājñi*, also *rācā*, *rācānam* and *rañjo* (Sū. 12). (d) The absolutive termination is *tūnam*: *dātūnam* = *dattvā*, *kātūnam* = *kṛtvā*, *ghettūnam* = *grhitvā* (Sū. 13). (e) And lastly *iva* is represented by *piva* and *hṛdaya* by *hitaaka*: *kamalaṁ piva mukhaṁ* = *kalamiva mukham*, *hitaakam harasi me taluni* = *hṛdayam harasi mama taruṇi* (Sūtras 4 & 14). This is all that we get from Vararuci as interpreted by Bhāmaha. There are some variants noted by Cowell, but they do not improve the position in any way; nor do they contribute any significant information. *Sañjivani* of Vasantarāja and *Subodhini* of Sadānanda,² two other commentaries on the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* of Vararuci, stop at the close of the 8th chapter, i. e., chap. 9 according to Cowell's edition; naturally we do not get any information from them about Paiśāci.

3. Caṇḍa, in his *Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa*,³ tells us that in Paiśāci (a) *r* and *n* are changed to *l* and *n*, and these are illustrated by a line: *ale ale dutṭha-lakkhasā panamata panayitṭhi tāsā* (III. 38). The text of Caṇḍa's grammar is far from being satisfactory. (b) The Sūtra, numbered III 11^a by Hoernle and printed in the Appendix on p. 49, I think, should be put better after III. 38; and it refers to Paiśāci or some variety of it, if we understand Caṇḍa in the light of what Vararuci and Hemacandra have to

¹ In the light of the rules given by later grammarians, one wishes that this should have been *ñña*.

² *Prākṛta-prakāśa* of Vararuci with the *Sañjivani* of Vasantarāja and the *Subodhini* of Sadānanda, ed. with Intro., etc. by B. N. Sharma and B. Upadhyaya, Benares 1927.

³ Ed. by A. F. R. Hoernle, Calcutta 1880, published by the Asiatic Society.

say. The Sūtra states that the third and fourth letters of a class should be changed to the first and second respectively; and we get the following illustrations in the commentary: *ṇakaraṁ* = *nagaram*, *makkhaṇo* = *mārgaṇaḥ*, *kiṇṭṭaṁ* = *giritaṇaṁ*, *mekho* = *meghaḥ*, *vakkho* = *vyūghraḥ*, *khammo* = *gharmaḥ*, *rūcā* = *rājū*, *caccaraṁ* = *jarjaraṁ*, *cīmūdo* = *jīmūtaḥ*, *ṇiccharo* = *nirjharāḥ*, *chaccharo* = *jharjharāḥ*, *taḍḍakaṁ* or *taṭṭakaṁ* = *taḍḍagam*, *maṇṭalaṁ* = *maṇḍalam*, *ṭamaruko* = *ḍamarukaḥ*, *kūṭhaṁ* = *gūḍham*, *saṁṭho* = *ṣaṇḍhaḥ*, *ṭhakkū* = *ḍhakkū*, *matano* = *madanaḥ*, *kaṇḍappo* = *kandarpaḥ*, *tāmotaro* = *dāmodaraḥ*, *mathuraṁ* = *madhuram*, *paṁṭhavo* = *bandhavaḥ*.

4. Namisādhu, in his commentary on Rudrata's *Kāvyaḍāma-kāra* II. 12,¹ describes the various Prākritis. The specialities of Paisācikaṁ noted by him are given below with some minor corrections²: (a) In Paisāciki there is only dental *n*: *āgaṁtūna ya namati* = *āgamyā ca namati*; *d* is changed to *t* contrary to what is usual in Prākrit: *vataṇaṁ* = *vadanam*; *ṭ* is not changed *ḍ*: *Pāṭaliputtāṁ* = *Pāṭaliputram*; *p* is not changed to *v*: *padīpo* = *pradīpaḥ*, *anekapo* = *anekapaḥ*; intervocalic *ka*, *ga*, *ca*, *ja*, *ta*, *da*, *pa*, *ya* and *va* are not elided leaving behind the vowel: *ākāśaṁ* (-*saṁ* ?) = *ākāśam*, *migaṁko* = *mṛgāṅkaḥ*, *vacanaṁ*, *rajataṁ*, *vitānaṁ*, *madano*, *supuriṣo*, *dayāṁ*, *lāraṇṇaṁ*, similarly *suko*, *subhago*, *sūci*, *gaḍo*, *bhavaṭi*, *nadī*; the aspirates *kha*, *gha*, *tha*, *dha*, *pha* and *bha* are not changed to *h*: *mukhaṁ*, *megho*, *ratho*, *Vidyā-dhara* (?), *viphalaṁ*, *sabhā*; *tha* and *ṭha* are not changed to *ḍha*: *pathamaṁ*, *puthuvī*, *maṭho*, *kamaṭho*. (b) The conjunct *jñ* is changed to *ñ*: *yaññakasaṁ*, *rāññā lapitaṁ*; *ya* in *hṛdaya* is changed to *pa*: *hitapakaṁ* = *hṛdayam*; *ta* is never subjected to any change: *eti bimbam*. Various consonantal changes prescribed in Prākrit are not applicable to Paisāci; and the illustrations for these might be gathered from texts like *Bṛhat-kathā*.

5. For the sake of convenience the sections on Paisāci in the Prākrit grammars of Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmidhara

¹ *Kāvyaṁālā* Ed., Bombay 1886, pp. 13-4,

² Namisādhu composed his commentary in A. D. 1068; so he is earlier than Hemacandra who was born in A. D. 1088.

and *Simharāja*¹ can be studied together. *Simharāja* and *Lakṣmidhara* use the sūtras of *Trivikrama* who has plainly expressed his indebtedness to *Hemacandra*. In fact *Hemacandra*'s grammar has proved the main source to *Trivikrama*, so I have mainly followed *Hema*. Additional illustrations, by way of detached words or complete sentences, given by others are noted after referring to their names T., S. and L. Illustrations which are repeated are avoided.

Taking the simple consonants, in *Paiśācī* *t* and *d* are changed to *t*, i. e., *t* is retained and *d* is changed to *t*: *bhagavatī*, T. *bha-uavatī* = *bhagavatī*, *Pavvatī* = *Pārvatī*, *sataṁ*=*śatam*, T. *satataṁ*; *matana-paravaso*=*madana-paravaśaḥ*, *satanam*=*sadanam*, *Tāmotaro Lūmodaraḥ*, *vatanakam*=*vadanakam*, *hotu*=*bhavatu*, *ramatu*, T. *mālāto* and *mālātu*, *śirīto* and *śirītu* (?), *tarīto* and *tarītu*, *tarūto* and *tarūtu*, *vadhūto* and *vadhūtu*, *patākā*, *vetiso*, L. *mato*=*madaḥ* (H. 307 T. 46, S. 3). Secondly there is only dental *n*: *guna-gana-yutto* = *guṇaganayuktah*, *gunena* = *guṇena*, T. reads *guna-gana-jutto* and adds: *panamata panayappakuvitaṁ* = *praṇamata praṇayaprakupitam* L. adds *rāmena* (H. 306, T. 43, S. 2). Thirdly *l* is changed to *ḷ*: *siḷam*, *kulaṁ*, *gaḷam*, *saḷilaṁ*, *kamalaṁ*, T. *phaḷam*, L. *kamaḷo*, *komaḷo*, *mukuḷo* (H. 308, T. 48, S. 10). Lastly *ś* and *ṣ* are changed to *s*: *sobhati*=*śobhate*, *sobhanam*=*śobhanam*, *sasī*=*śaśin*, *sakko*=*śakraḥ*, *saṁkho*=*śaṁkhaḥ*, T. *saṁkā*=*śaṁkā*, *visamo*=*viśamaḥ*, *kisāno*=*kṛṣṇaḥ* (v. l. *visāno* = *viśāṇaḥ*), T. *kisano* = *kṛṣṇaḥ*, *viseso* = *viśeṣaḥ*, S. *sasiā*, L. *seso* = *śeṣaḥ*, *veso* = *veṣaḥ*, *saḍho*=*śaṭhaḥ*, *poso*=*poṣaḥ*.

Coming to the conjuncts, *rya*, *sna* and *ṣṭa* are sometime changed to *ria* (*riya* in H), *sina* and *siṭa* (*saṭa* in H.); *bhāriyā*, *bhūriā* = *bhāryā*, *sinātaṁ* = *snātam*, *kaṣaṭam*, *kaṣitaṁ* = *kaṣṭam*, T. *sinānaṁ*=*snūnam*, L. *ārio*=*āryaḥ*, *vario*=*varyaḥ*, *sināto*=*snātaḥ*.

¹ *Hemacandra's Prākṛit Grammar*, Appendix to the No. LX, Bombay Sk. and Pk. Series, Poona 1936, IV. 303-328, pp. 589-94: *Prākṛta-Vyākaraṇa* of *Trivikrama*, Benares. (still in the Press, but I have received advance forms without Intro. etc.), III, ii, 43-67, pp. 154-3; The *Saḍbhāṣacandrikā* of *Lakṣmidhara*, Bombay Sk. and Pk. Series, No. LXXI, Bombay 1916, pp. 257-63; *Prākṛitarūpavātāra* by *Simharāja*, ed. by E. Hultzsch, Prize Publication Fund I, London 1909, published by the Royal Asiatic Society. For some remarks on the relative chronology of these authors see 'Trivikrama and his followers' by *Bhattanātha Svamin*, IA. 1911, pp. 219-223.

The following forms would be allowed : *sujjo, sunusā, tiṭṭho, ayyo, susā, bhaṭṭo* etc. (H. 314, T. 50, S. 13). Secondly *jñā, nya* and *nya* are changed to *ñā* : *paññā=prajñā, saññā=sañjñā, savvañño=sarvajñāh, nānañ=ñānam, viññānañ=viññānam; kaññakā=kanyakā, abhimaññū=abhimanyuh, puññakammo=punya-karmā, puññāhañ=pṇyāham* T. *viñño=viññāh, saññānañ (-nañ)=sañjñānam, S. maññū=manyuh, puññāñ=punya-* *m, pañño=prā-jñāh, L. dhañño=dhanyāh, gañño=ganyāh; but the word rājan* shows optional forms in some cases : *rāciñā lapitāñ, raññā lapitam=rājñā lapitam, rāciñō or raññō dhañāñ=rājñō dhanam, S. rāciñō bhajasu.*

The Inst. sing. form of *tad* and *idam* is *nena* in the Mas. and *nāe* in the Fem : *tattha ca nena kata-simānena=tatra ca tena kṛta-simānena, pūjito ca nāe pāttagga-kusuma-ppatānena=pūjitāh ca tayā pādāgra-kusuma-pradānena, evaṃ cintayanto gato so tāe simipañ=evaṃ cintayan gatah sa tasyūh samīpam.* T., L. and S. do not give any sentences but simply add the forms : *nena, tena, anena, nāye (nāe ?), tayā, anayā* (H. 322, T. 53-4, S. 7-8). In the Abl. sing. *āto* and *ātu* are the terminations : *tāva ca tīe tūrāto yyeva tiṭṭho=tāvacca tayā durādeva dṛṣṭāh, tūrātu, tumāto, tumātu, mamāto mamātu, T. tuvāto, tuvātu, S. panipatanāto, panipatanātu, L. Rāmāto* (H. 321, T. 55, S. 5).

Turning to the verbal formations the 3rd p. sing. termination of the present is *ti* or *te* for roots ending in *a*, and for other roots only *ti* : *vasūāti=udvāti, bhoti=bhavati, neti=nayati, teti=dadāti, lapate, lapati, acchate, acchati, gacchate, gacchati, ramati, ramate, ho'i, L. bhavati, bhavate* (H. 318-9, T. 56, S. 14). The third p. sing. termination of the future is *eyya* : *tañ taddhūna* (v. l. *taṭṭhūna, T. tatthūna*) *cimtilaṃ raññā kā esā huveyya* (T. *hueyya*) = *tāñ dṛṣṭvā cintilaṃ rājñā kaiṣā bhaviṣyati, S. haseyya=hasiṣyati, bhaveyya=bhaviṣyati, L. bhoeyya, bhaveyya, bhossimti, bhossimi* (H. 320, T. 57, S. 17). In Paisāci the Passive augment is *yya* and the root *kr* has its own forms : *giyyate=gīyate, diyyate=dīyate, ramiyyate=ramyate, paṭhiyyate* (v. l. *paḍhiyyate*) = *paṭhyate, T. nīyyate, gīyyate, ramiyyate, paḍiyyate, S. hasiyyate, L. bhoiyyati, bhoiyyate, bhaviyyati, bhaviyyate.* About the forms of *kr* H. gives an illustrative sentence *pudhuma-taṃsane savvasa yyeva saṃmānañ kīrate* which is differently read by T : *paḍhama-daṃsanena savvasseva saṃmānañ*

kirate = *prathama-darśanena sarvasyaiva sammānaḥ kriyate*, L. *kīrati* (H. 315-6, T. 58-9, S. 15-16). The Absolutive termination is *tūna*, and those roots which show *ṣtvā* in Sanskrit have special forms : *gaṁtūna*=*gatvā*, *raṁtūna*=*rantvā*, *hasitūna*=*hasitvā*, *paṭhitūna*=*paṭhitvā*, *kadhitūna* (T. *kathitūna*) = *kathayitvā*, T. *maṁtūna* *matvā*; *naddhūna*, v. l. *naṭṭhūna*, *natthūna*=*naṣṭvā*, *taddhūna*, v. l. *taṭṭhūna*, *tatthūna*. S. *daṭṭhūna*, *datthūna*=*drṣṭvā*, L. *kaṭṭhūna*, *kattthūna*=*krṣṭvā* (H. 312-3, T. 60-1, S. 18-9).

Lastly certain peculiar words are noted as special to Paisāci: *kuṭumbakaṁ*, *kuṭumbakaṁ*=*kuṭumbakam*, L. *vatuko*=*baṭukaḥ*, *patudeho*=*paṭudekaḥ*, *hitapakam*=*hṛdayam*, *kuṁ pi kiṁpi hitapake atthaṁ* *cintayamānī* = *kim api kim api hrdaye arthaṁ cintayantī*, L. *hitapa-saṁtoso* = *hṛdaya-saṁtoṣaḥ*; *yātiṣo* = *yādṛśaḥ*, *tātiṣo* = *tādṛśaḥ*, *ketiṣo* = *kidṛśaḥ*, *etiṣo*, *ītiṣo* = *īdṛśaḥ*, *bhavātiṣo* = *bhavādṛśaḥ*, *aññā-tiṣo* = *anyādṛśaḥ*, *yumhātiṣo* = *yusmādṛśaḥ*, *amhātiṣo* = *asmādṛśaḥ*, T. *etātiṣo* = *etādṛśaḥ* (H. 317, T. 49, S. 10).

But for the above deviations, Paisāci agrees with Śaurasenī; and the dropping of intervocalic consonants and their special changes prescribed by Hema. i. 177-265 are not practised in Paisāci. That means that Paisāci generally favours the retention of intervocalic consonants subject to the special rules noted above. In this context Hemacandra quotes certain sentences and words by way of illustration : *adha* (T. *atha*) *sasarīro bhagavaṁ makara-dhajo* (T. *ddhajo*) *eittha paribbhamanto huvṣyya* : *evaṁ-vidhāe bhagavatīe kadhaṁ* (*kathaṁ* in T.) *tāpasa-vesa-gaha-naṁ kataṁ*; *etisaṁ atitṭha-puravaṁ mahādhanam taddhūna* (v. l. *tatthūna*, T. *taṭṭhūna*) ; *bhagavam yati maṁ varam payacchasi rājāṁ* *ca dāva loke* (v. l. *loka*) ; *tāva ca tie tūrāto yyeva titṭho so āgacchamāno rājā* ; *makuraketū*, *sagara-putta*-(T. *Magadha-putta*)-*vacanaṁ*, *viḥayasenena lapitaṁ*, *matanaṁ* (v. l. *patanaṁ*, T. *matam*) *pāpam*, *āyudham*, *tevaro* (T. *devaro*) (H. 323-24. T. 62-3).

6. Hemacandra and his followers have recognised another dialect Cūlikā-paisāci or-paisācika, a variety of Paisāci as signified by its name.

In this dialect the third and fourth letters of a class are changed to the first and second respectively : *nakaram*=*nagaram* *makkano*=*mārgaṇaḥ*, *kiritataṁ*=*giritaṭam*, *mekho*=*meghaḥ*, *vakkho*=*vyāghraḥ*, *khammo*=*gharmaḥ*, *rācū*=*rājā*, *caccuraṁ*=*jarjaram*, *cimūto*=*jimūtaḥ*, *niccharo*=*nirjharāḥ*, *chaccharo*=*jharjharāḥ*, *taṭā-*

kaiṁ=*taḍāgam*, *maṁṭalaṁ*=*maṇḍalam*, *tamaruko*=*ḍamarukaḥ*, *kāṭ-
ham*=*gāḍham*, *saṁṭho*=*saṇḍhaḥ*, *thakkā*=*ḍhakkā*, *matano*=*madanaḥ*,
kaiṁtappo=*kandarpaḥ*, *Tāmotaro*=*Dāmodaraḥ*, *mathuraṁ*=*madh-
uram*, *paṁṭhavo*=*bāṇdhavaḥ*, *thūṭi*=*dhūṭi*, *pālako*=*bālakaḥ*, *raphaso*
=*rabhasaḥ*, *Raṁphā* = *Rambhā*, *phakavati*=*bhagavati*, *niyocitam*=
niyojitam, *paṭimā* = *pratimā*, *tāṭhā* = *daṁṣṭrā* T. adds *nakalaṁ*=
nagaraṁ, *khano*=*ghanah*, *caccalaṁ*=*jarjaram*, *nicchalo*=*nirjharah*,
chacchalo=*jharjharah*, *mathulaṁ*=*madhuram*, *maṁṭaro*=*mandaraḥ*,
thārā=*dhārā*, *pāṭapo*=*bāḍavaḥ*, *pālo*=*bālāḥ*, *laphaso*=*rabhasaḥ*,
laṁphā=*rambhā*, *phavo*=*bhavaḥ*. In the opinion of others the above
rule is not applicable to initial (and conjunct)¹ consonants
and to roots like *yuj* : *gati*=*gatiḥ*. *ghammo*=*gharmaḥ*, *jīmūto*=
jīmūtaḥ, *jhaccharo*=*jharajharah*, *ḍamaruko*=*ḍamarukaḥ*, *ḍhakkā*,
Dāmotara=*Dāmodaraḥ*, *bālako*=*bālakaḥ*, *bhakavati* = *bhagavati*,
niyojitam, T. *jano* = *janah*, *jhallari*, *dānaṁ*, *dhūṭi*, *bālo*, L. *gati*,
ghano, (H. 325, T. 65-66, S. 3). In Cūlikā-paiśācī *r* is optionally
changed to *l*; and Hemacandra quotes a couple of verses :

पनमथ² पनय-पकुपित³-गोली⁴-चलनग-लग-पतिविबं ।

तससु नख-तप्पनेसुं एकातस-तनु-थलं लुहं ॥⁵

नचंतस्स य लीला-पातुक्खेवेन कपिता वसुथा ।

उच्छलंति समुदा सइला निपतंति तं हलं नमथ ॥

T. adds *nalo*, *naro* = *naraḥ*, *salo*, *saro* = *śaraḥ*, L. adds *Ramo*,
Lāno.

7. So far as Paisācī, Paisācībhāṣā or Paisācīkam is concerned, *Prākṛtānuśāsana*⁶ of Puruṣottama, *Prākṛta-kalpataru* of Rāmaśarman and *Prākṛta-sarvasvam* of Mārkaṇḍeya deserve to be studied together. The number of Prākṛit dialects given by Rāmaśarman is eleven; but however three dialects are common to all of them : Kaikeya or Kekaya, Paisācīka, Śaurasena

¹ Hemacandra takes 'a-yuji' = not in the root 'yuja', but :as we see from Vararuci (X. 2) the conjunct groups are excluded thereby.

² T. पनमत्. ³ T. पकुपित्. ⁴ T. काली.

⁵ This verse is found quoted in the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja, Chapter 2. It looks like the opening Maṅgala of some work.

⁶ Le *Prākṛtānuśāsana* de Puruṣottama par Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris 1938, XIX-XX; for the section on Paisācī from *Prākṛta-kalpataru*, see Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, *Orientalia*, Part 2; The Eastern School of Prākṛit Grammarians and Paisācī Prākṛit, by A. Grierson, pp. 119-141.

Paiśācika and Pāñcālā Paiśācika. Of these three works the text of *Prākṛta-sarvasvam*¹ is better preserved; so I have presented the details mainly following Mārkaṇḍeya, and the differences and specialities of others are noted casually by giving references to their names.

Dealing with the first, i. e. Kekaya Paiśāciki, Mārkaṇḍeya proposes to note its deviations from what is already there in Sanskrit and Śaurasenī. In this dialect, the 3rd and 4th letters of the five Vargas are changed to the 1st and 2nd of the same class : *kaṇṭkā*=*gaṅgā*, *mekho*=*meghaḥ*, *calaṇ*=*jalam*, *chaṇchānilo* *jhañjhānilaḥ*, *ṭimṭimo*=*ḍiṇḍimaḥ*, *kāṭhaṇ*=*gūḍham*, *tatthi*=*dudhi*, *pīphāvari*=*vibhāvarī*, also *tevo*=*devaḥ* (?). According to Puruṣottama this rule holds good only in the case of non-conjunct consonants and it is optional (M. 1-2, P. 1-5, R. 2). There is only dental *n* and only one sibilant *s* : *piseso*=*viśeṣaḥ*, *Nārūano*=*Nārāyaṇaḥ* (M. 3-4, P. 8, but he is silent about the sibilant, R. 3).

Conjuncts are simplified by anaptyxis sometimes regularly sometimes optionally : *rya* = *ria* : *bhāriā*, also *bhariā*=*bhāryā*, *kāriāṇ*, *kariāṇ*, also *kaccaṇ*=*kāryaṇ*; *ṣṭa*=*saṭa* : *kaṣaṭaṇ*=*kaṣṭaṇ*; *snā*=*sana* : *snānaṇ*=*snānam*; other illustrations given in this respect are : *thara.na-patani*, *thamma-patti*=*dharma-* *a'ni* : *cihamako*, *cihmaka*=*jihmagah*; *pakhama* for *pakṣman* : *pakhamala-ṇaṇā* (-*naṇā*)=*pakṣmala-nayanā*; *sukhama* for *sūkṣma* : *sukhama-varisī* (-*tarisī*)=*sūkṣmadarśin*; *pisumaa* for *vismaya* : *kuruko me pisumao*=*gurukaḥ me vi mayah* (M. 5-6, 12-13, P. 9, 11-12, R. 4-5).

The conjuncts *nya*, *ṇya* and *jña* are often changed to *ñña* : *kaññakā*, *kannakā* = *kanyakā*; *saraññaṇ*, *sarannaṇ*=*śaraṇyaṇ*; *piññāta*, *pinnāta*=*viññāta*. The word *rājan* shows optional forms in some cases : *raññā*, *rannā*, *rācinā*; *rañño*, *ranno*, *rācino*; *raññi*, *ranni*, *rācini* (M. 18-19, P. 10, 22, R. 6).

Then there are certain net equivalents : *piva*=*iva*, *caṇto piva*=*candra iva*; *kīhaṇ*, *kharaṇ* = *gṛhaṇ*; *kupaci*=*kvacit*, as we get in *Brhalkathā*, *kupaci piśālaṇ* = *kvacid viśālaṇ*; ² P. gives *tiriaṇ ca* for *tiraśca*; *puthunī* for *prthivī* : *puthunī-nātho*, P. reads *puthumī*

¹ *Prākṛtasarvasvam*, edited by S. P. V. Bhattanathaswami, Vizagapatam. 1927, pp. 123-27.

² Grierson gives *kvacit piśācam* as the Sanskrit equivalent; but seeing that Mārkaṇḍeya has changed *v* to *p*, I have taken it as *viśālam*.

2 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

but the Ms. *pathumā*, *prthuma* for *prathama*: *prthuma-sineho*=*prathama-snehah*; *hitapakam* for *hṛdayam*: *hitapakam kām̐pati*=*hṛdayam kām̐pate*, P. reads *hiraakam*,

The forms of *asmad* and *yusmad* are the same as in Māgadhi, and *bh* is not changed to *ph* according to the phonetic rules noted above: *hakke*, *ambhe*, *tumam*, *tumbhe*; but according to Puruṣottama *tupphe* and *apphe* (M. 21, P. 23).

The gerund termination is *tūnaṁ*: *hasitūnaṁ*=*hasitvā*, *phani-tūnaṁ*=*bhanitvā*. According to P. the root *bhū* assumes the form *ho* and *huva*. (M. 17, P. 21, 24, R. 6). The rest of the details are the same as in Śaurasenī.

Then these grammarians state in what respects Śaurasena-Paiśācī or Śaurasena Paiśācaka deviates from Kekaya Paiśācī. This dialect has got only palatal sibilant *ś*: *mānuṣe* (*mānuṣe*)¹ *haśati*=*mānuṣaḥ haśati*, *piṣune*=*piṣunaḥ*; and *ś* develops in some of the conjuncts: *maṣṭte*=*mattaḥ*, *iṣṭhī*=*strī*, *yciṣṭadi* (M. 1, 7-8, P. 27, etc. R. 7). *r* is changed to *l*: *luhilaṁ* = *rudhiraṁ* (M. 3, P. 26. R. 7). *t* is changed to *ḍ*: *kaḍe*=*kṛtaḥ*, *maḍe*=*mṛtaḥ*, *gaḍe*=*gataḥ* (M. 5, P. 35, R. 8). The grammarians are not in complete agreement with regard to the changes of some conjunct groups, and in some places sūtras are not properly preserved. *kṣ* is changed (*y*)*cch*² (but according to P. to *śka*), and sometime *ddha* to *ttha*: *laycchane*=*lakṣaṇaḥ*, *paycche* = *pakṣaḥ*, *atthāsanam* = *ardhāsanam*, *paṭṭati*=*vardhate* (?) According to P. *cch*=*śc*, *tha*=*śta*, *st*=*ṣṭ* or *th* (M. 6-7, 9. P. 30-33).

In declensions, the Nom. sing. termination for *a*-ending nouns is *e*: *mānuṣe* = *mānuṣaḥ*, *vane* = *vanam*, R. *pale manuṣṣe* = *paraḥ manuṣyaḥ*; and the same termination is there optionally in the Acc. also: *mānuṣe*, *mānuṣam* = *mānuṣam*, *vane*, *vanam* = *vanam*. (M. 10-11, P. 37-38, R. 10).

Then there are certain net equivalents: *ahunī*, P. *ahunā*=*adhunā*; *hake*=*aham*, *tume*=*tvam*; and then there are a few orthographical peculiarities *ychale*=*chalam*. According to P. *ira* is used to express *ākṣepa*, and according to R. *śīlī* is a term of abuse. The

¹ Some of these illustrations are not satisfactorily preserved. A critical edition of Mārkaṇḍeya's grammar based on more Ms. material is an urgent need.

² See Grierson's note on the ' Pronunciation of Prākṛit palatals ' in the JRAS, 1913, pp. 391-396.

other details are like those of Prākṛit, while in the opinion of others like Māgadhi.

In the third dialect, namely Pāñcālī Paiśācī, Pāñcāla P., or Pāñcāla-Paiśācika *r* and *l* are interchanged, i. e. *r=l* and *l=r*: *kerī-maṇṭilam*=*keli-mandiram*.

8. Regarding the various varieties of Paiśācī, Rāmaśarman has something of his own to say.¹ Paiśācika may be Śuddha or Saṁkīrṇa: the former is of seven kinds: (1) that born in Kekaya, (2) that born in Śūrasena, (3) that born in Pāñcāla, (4) that born in Gauḍa, (5) Māgadha, (6) Vrācaḍa and Sūkṣmabheda; and the latter is of four kinds: (1) Bhāṣā-śuddha, and (2) Ardhaśuddha, (3) Catuspāda-śuddha and (4) Aśuddha. The first three are identical with those discussed by Mārkaṇḍeya: and whatever Mārkaṇḍeya says practically covers the rules of his predecessors, Puruṣottama and Rāmaśarman. As to the peculiarities of the remaining varieties, Rāmaśarman adds very scanty information. In Gauḍa Paiśācika either *r* or *l* may be used for *r* or for *l*, as distinguished from Pāñcāla Paiśācika where the rule is obligatory. Māgadha Paiśācika is the language originating in the country of Māgadhas. Vrācaḍa Paiśācika shows an admixture of Sanskrit words. Owing to the subtle differentiation in regard to the letter ś, Sūkṣmabheda Paiśācika is recognised.

Now turning to Saṁkīrṇa Paiśācika it may be Śuddha or pure and Aśuddha or impure. Further Śuddha may be Bhāṣā-śuddha or that in which the language is pure and Padaśuddha in which the different quarters of a verse are each pure. Padaśuddha may be Ardhaśuddha, i. e., one half of the verse is in one language and the other half in another language, or Catuspādaśuddha when the four quarters of a verse are in four different languages. In the Aśuddha-saṁkīrṇa variety languages enter into a verse (mixed together) like sesame and rice. Rāmaśarman gives some illustrations. They are not directly connected with our study of Paiśācī, so they are not reproduced here. Grierson has given them in his paper with the English translation. We may note casually here that the term Paiśācika is used for an admixture of Pādas in Sanskrit and Śaurasenī.

¹ See Grierson's article 'Eastern School of Prākṛit grammarians,' noted, above, for further details.

9. This eclectic survey of the Paisācī language¹ described in different Prākṛit grammars shows one thing that some of the grammarians have differently understood the term Paisācī associating it with different linguistic tendencies. It is not unlikely if the section on Paisācī is a later addition in the *Prākṛita-prakāśa* of Vararuci; but we have no evidence to assert the period when it was added. My impression is that the Paisācī section of Vararuci cannot be later than Caṇḍa, Namisādhu or Hemacandra. Paisācī tendencies such as the hardening of the mutes, preference to dental nasal *n* and sibilant *s*, simplification of the conjuncts like *sn*, *št* etc. by anaptyxis, assimilating *jñ*, *ny* and *ṇy* in one and the same way, using *tūna* as the Abso. termination and recording special words like *hitapaka*, noted by Vararuci, are so to say the bed-rock of Paisācī dialect. These points are almost common with all the later grammarians that have described Paisācī, though some of them have handled the details in their own way. No doubt that the Prākṛit dialects were spoken languages once, but by the time the Prākṛit grammars came to be composed they were literary languages and the grammarians had to analyse the existing literature and record the forms comparing and contrasting them with Sanskrit or some standard Prākṛit. We do not know what Paisācī literature was used by Vararuci for his *Prākṛita-prakāśa*. And further it is more than probable that the later grammarians were guided by the earlier grammars, and in the absence of easily available Paisācī literature they added second-hand details that they had got from their teachers. So we should not be surprised, if they restricted or widened the scope of certain Sūtras. Caṇḍa's information is scrappy: he accepts Vararuci's rule about *n*, but he would change *r* to *l*. The sūtra III, 11^a, not put in its right place by the Editor, is only a revised form of Vararuci's rule about the change of the soft to the hard consonants of a class. Vararuci has the restriction that they should be non-initial and non-conjunct, but

¹ Some points about Paisācī were discussed by earlier scholars, and their articles, besides those that are already referred to elsewhere, may be noted here: Paisācī Prākṛta by S. P. V. Ranganathaswami, IA, 1919, pp. 211-213; Paisācī of the Prākṛtakalpitaru by Grierson, IA., 1920, p. 114; Hemacandra and Paisācī-prākṛta by P. V. Ramanujaswami, IA., 1922, pp. 51-54; Paisācī and Cūlikā Paisācī by Grierson, IA., 1923, pp. 16-17.

Caṇḍa has no such restriction. Namisādhū's description is interesting : with regard to the preference to the dental *n*, the change of *jñ* to *ñ* (*ñj* in Vararuci's grammar, I think is a mistake of the copyist), the change of *d* to *t*, the retention of *t* and the equation of *hitapaka* with *hr̥daya*, he agrees with Vararuci. Then he has certain prohibitive rules which indicate that Paiśācī stands more for the retention of Sanskrit consonants that are subjected to various changes in different Prākṛits. Namisādhū is quite conscious and almost implies that it was in the Paiśācī dialect described by him that the *Br̥hatkathā* was written and further illustrations might be gathered from that book. Namisādhū's description may be casual, but it is as good as a section of any Prākṛit grammar, if we remember the space devoted to Paiśācī by Vararuci and Caṇḍa. Nāmisādhū's Paiśācīkī has nothing in common with Caṇḍa's Paiśācīkī excepting the rule about dental *n*. The change of *r* to *l* noted by Caṇḍa and the wholesale change of soft consonants to the hard ones noted by both Vararuci and Caṇḍa do not figure in the description given by Namisādhū who would change only *d* to *t*. The points which he has common with Vararuci I have already noted above.

10. As I see the situation, I feel convinced that the description of Paiśācī recorded by Vararuci, Caṇḍa and Namisādhū must have been there before Hemacandra when he wrote his grammar. Though Namisādhū has something in common with Vararuci, the change of *r* to *l* and the wholesale hardening of the soft consonants are absent in his Paiśācīkī. It is these conflicting characteristics that might have led Hemacandra to add a Cūlikā Paiśācī in which *r* is optionally changed to *l* and the soft consonants of a class are hardened. Hemacandra is aware of a difference of opinion that according to some the initial consonants are not affected ; and this, I think, refers to the opinion of Vararuci. Thus in his treatment of Cūlikā Paiśācī, which is merely a subdialect of Paiśācī, Hemacandra is guided by Caṇḍa and restrained by Vararuci. The Paiśācī of Hemacandra is modelled on that of Namisādhū or on the pattern of that source which was before Namisādhū ; and the details like the simplification of the conjuncts *sn*, *śṣ* etc., the absolutive in *tūna* etc. are taken from Vararuci's grammar. It is interesting to note how the various prohibitive rules of Namisādhū are prescribed by Hema-

candra in a single sūtra, VIII. iv. 324. Of the three sūtras devoted to Cūlikā Paisāci, 327 modifies 325 and the sūtra 326 is optional. It is in this manner that Hemacandra has toned down the restrictions of Cūlikā Paisāci, and thus has been able to bridge some of the gulf between Caṇḍa and Vararuci and Vararuci and Namisādhu. Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara and Simharāja have mechanically followed Hemacandra adding a few illustrative words here and there. Simharāja's performance is the poorest of the lot. Hemacandra's specific details about the Passive and the Future augments are not noted by Puruṣottama and others. They are special to Hemacandra and his followes. They are important, because these elements are the better distinguishing characteristics of a dialect than stray words which can be easily borrowed from one literary dialect to the other.

11. Now we turn to the next group of grammarians¹ Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya. They start with three varieties of Paisāci: Kekaya, Śaurasena and Pāñcāla, but such a division is unknown to Vararuci, Caṇḍa, Namisādhu or Hemacandra. If we ignore a few special words noted by them, we can safely say that their Kekaya Paisāciki is identical with the Paisāci of Vararuci, and if we omit the change of *r* to *l* (which is optional), with the Paisāci (including Cūlikā Paisāci) of Hemacandra. Undoubtedly these three follow Vararuci. The rule about the hardening of soft consonants shows an interesting history with different grammarians. Vararuci wants that only the intervocalic consonants should be affected. Caṇḍa applies the rule to both initial and conjunct as well. With Namisādhu the trace of this rule is partially seen that *d* is changed to *t*, and in this respect he is followed by Hemacandra. Hemacandra relegates that rule to Cūlikā Paisāci. Puruṣottama adopts this rule optionally and for only simple consonants; and lastly Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya apply this rule everywhere without any reservation. That Hemacandra relegates that rule to a sub-variety of Paisāci and that Puruṣottama makes it optional are sure indications of the fact that different traditions must have been current about the rigorous application of this rule. The change

¹ We find the various details about Paisāci, given in different places, in *Les Grammairiens Prākṛit* by Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris 1938,

of *l* to *ḷ* in Paiśācī is noted only by Hemacandra and his followers.

12. Leaving aside the stray words special to Paiśācī, we find that there are many common points between all the grammarians in the description of basic Paiśācī which is called Paiśācika, Paiśācikī, Kaikeya, Kaikaya or Kekaya Paiśācī and Paiśācī (with a subvariety Cūlikā Paiśācī). Those common traits may be noted here. (1) Hard consonants take the place of soft ones (with some the rule is universal, with others optional and with some confined to intervocalic consonants only). (2) There is only dental *s*. (3) There is only dental *n*. (4) The conjuncts *jñ*, *ny*, *ṇy* are reduced to *ññ*, and *rājan* gives alternative forms. (5) Conjuncts like *sn*, *ṣṭ* are simplified by anaptyxis. (6) The Absolutive termination is *tūna*. (7) A word *hitapaka* is used for *hr̥daya*. These may be accepted as the chief characteristics of the basic or standard Paiśācī which in the opinion of Namiśādhu, Hemacandra and Puruṣottama shows the tendency of retaining the Sanskrit consonants that usually suffer a change in Prākritis. Both Hemacandra and Mārkaṇḍeya add special words, but they cannot help us to generalise linguistic tendencies of Paiśācī. Along with the Absolutive termination *tūna*, Hemacandra gives us the Passive and Future augments: they appear to be important, but we cannot judge their authenticity in the absence of Paiśācī literature from which Hemacandra might have taken these forms.

13. The Śaurasena Paiśācikī described by Puruṣottama and others is interesting. Its change of *r* to *ḷ*, its preference to *ś*, the appearance of *ś* in some conjunct groups, the Nom. sing. termination *e*, the use of *hake* for *aham* and the remark of Mārkaṇḍeya that it is partly like Māgadhi indicate that this dialect is more akin to the Māgadhi of the grammarians, though it is called Śaurasena Paiśācikī. The Pāñcāla Paiśācī is not fully described by any one, and Puruṣottama says that its characteristics are to be gathered from people: perhaps it possessed certain popular traits not handed down by Prākrit grammarians. The other varieties, Māgadha etc., noted by Rāmaśarman are more theoretical than actual: first, he does not give any dialectal traits; secondly, the classification itself is not purely linguistic; and lastly they indicate types of verses composed in different

languages.¹ Further, the facts that Puruṣottama shows no such dialects and that Mārkaṇḍeya omitted them are enough to justify the position that for understanding the traits of Paisācī the last eight varieties of Rāmaśarman have no value at all. To say that they are Paisācī is to use the term Paisācī in altogether a different sense.

14. Though Paisācī shows a strong tendency to retain the intervocalic consonants as in Sanskrit, still it falls into the Prākṛit group due to its some salient characteristics: the distinction of the three sibilants is not maintained; conjunct groups are simplified by assimilation or by anaptyxis; the Absolutive termination is *tūna*; and there are special augments for the passive and future. In the group of Prākṛitic languages, the standard or the basic Paisācī bears close relation with Pali, because many consonants are retained unlike in Mahārāṣṭri, the sonant mutes are hardened, preference is often shown to anaptyxis, the conjuncts *jñ*, *ny* and *ṇy* are changed to a palatal nasal duplicate, preference is shown to *y* in stead of *j*, and lastly the termination of the Nom. for a-ending nouns is *o*. Grammarians usually associate Paisācī with Śaurasenī but thereby, I do not think, they imply any linguistic connection; it means that it was convenient for them to describe Paisācī by noting its deviations from Śaurasenī. Śaurasena Paisācīkī shows many characteristics (already noted above) which are quite common with the Māgadhi of the grammarians. Why it is qualified by the term Śaurasena is difficult to understand; but it implies one thing that we are dealing with literary dialects that had lost the significance of territorial association long before the time of our grammarians.

15 Very often attempts are made to trace isolated characteristics of Paisācī in one language or the other, but such parallelisms do not lead to any definite conclusion about the family kinship of languages. The term Paisācī stands for a group of characteristics already noted above; we must see how many of these characteristics are found *en bloc* and consistently in any other Prākṛit dialect. The Aśokan Inscriptions do retain inter-

¹ Hemacandra gives a verse (*Kāvyaṇuśāsana* chap. 5) which is both in Sanskrit and Paisācī. See also Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaḍlāmkāra*, chap. 4, 13.

vocalic consonants now and then, and as shown by Konow¹ the interchange of *tth* and *tth* is found in old Bhilsa Inscriptions. Stray cases of the change of soft to hard consonants are seen in the Dhauli separate edict (*tuphe* etc.); but by themselves they do not prove much. The palatal nasal conjunct is seen in some of the records, but that being common to Pāli and Māgadhi we cannot press the point that it is an exclusively Paiśācī trait. The Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan² are written in a variety of Prākṛit which contains a large number of non-Indian words. The dialect agrees in many respects with that of Prākṛit *Dhammapada*, and it contains certain tendencies which are later known to us in Apabhraṃśa. Due to the absence of voiced stops, we get words like *kilane* = *glāna*, *caṃṇma* = *janma*, *taṃṇa* = *daṇḍa* which remind us of an important phonetic rule in Paiśācī. But the common points do not go further. *ṇ* is sometimes seen but does not appear to be obligatory. Let us not assert that the dialect is Paiśācī, till we are able to trace many more traits of Paiśācī.

16. Serious attempts are made to detect Dravidian affinities³ in the so called Piśāca languages of the N. W. on the ground that Paiśācī was connected with the Dravidian group of languages, a position which still requires proof. That Paiśācī prefers *n*, has *ḷ* and changes sonants into surds are called the peculiarities of the Dravidian affinity of Paiśācī. Remembering that Vedic Sanskrit has already *ḷ* and the Niya Prākṛit of the Kharoṣṭhī documents changes some sonants into surds, we cannot press these points too much. That Dravidian characteristics are found in Paiśācī must still remain an open question; and it has to be solved by taking into account the relation of Paiśācī with other Prākṛits on the one hand and with non-Sanskritic languages on the other.

17. The name of this dialect is spelt with slight variations. Vararuci calls it Paiśācī and closes the chapter with the phrase

¹ ZDMG. 1910, p. 116.

² *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* by T. Burrow, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1937; see also 'The Dialectal position of the Niya Prākṛit by Burrow in the Bulletin of the S. O. S. for 1936, pp. 419 etc.

³ Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, III, *Orientalia Part 2, The Dravidian affinities of the Piśāca Languages* by K. A. Row, pp. 427-32.

³ [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

Paiśāciko nāma daśamo parishedaḥ; Caṇḍa writes *Paiśāciki*; Namisādhū uses both *Paiśācika* and *Paiśāciki*; Hemacandra uses *Paiśāci*, *Paiśācika* and *Cūlikā Paiśācika*; Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, and Simharāja use *Paiśāci*, *Cūlikā-Paiśāci* and Trivikrama has used *Paiśācika* as well. Puruṣottama uses *Paiśācika* and closes the section with the phrase *Paiśācikaṃ sūtram samāptam*; Rāmaśarman uses *Paiśācika* or *Paiśācam*; and Mārkaṇḍeya uses *Paiśāci* and *Paiśāciki*. Looking at the facts noted above, it is clear that the various forms *Paiśāci*, *Paiśāciki*, *Paiśācika* and *Paiśāca* are being promiscuously used by different authors. The difference in the spelling does not necessarily imply the difference in the significance attached to it, i. e. the spelling and the significance are not logically connected. Grierson remarks that the two terms *Paiśācika* and *Paiśāci* are not exactly convertible, and that the *Paiśācika* of Rāmaśarman¹ 'includes not only the *Paiśāci* of other grammarians, which he calls *Suddha-paiśācika*, but also those polyglot *tours de force* loved by old Indian writers, in which *Paiśāci* or some other Prākṛit form of speech is mixed, or combined, in the same poetical work, with Sanskrit.' It is true that the term *Paiśācika* is used rather in a loose sense by Rāmaśarman but to insist that he really meant all this by using the term *Paiśācika* is not warranted by facts. The terms *Paiśācika* and *Paiśāci* are synonyms with earlier authors; and many others before Rāmaśarman have used the term *Paiśācika* but they never included the last eight varieties under that name. Grierson's suggestion loses all force on account of the terms used by Puruṣottama and Mārkaṇḍeya.

18. The Prākṛit grammarians are not at all agreed on the number of the sub-dialects of *Paiśāci*. Vararuci, Caṇḍa and Namisādhū have not noted any. Hemacandra adds *Cūlikā Paiśāci*; and as the section stands, this dialect looks like a subdialect of *Paiśāci*: in many details it agrees with *Paiśāci*; the change of *r* to *l* is only optional; the wholesale change of soft consonants (according to some, noninitial) to corresponding hard ones is much akin to the change of *d* to *t* in *Paiśāci*; and lastly Hemacandra has not admitted it as an independent dialect in his enumeration of six languages. Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara and Simharāja

¹ See 'The Eastern School of Prākṛit grammarians,' *Orientalia*, part 2, noted above, p. 124.

follow Hemacandra. Puruṣottama has three dialects: Kaikeya, Śaurasena and Pāñcāla. Rāmaśarman admits these three, but in addition he gives eight names more: Gauḍa, Māgadha, Vṛācaḍa, Sūksma-bheda, Bhāṣā-Viśuddha, Ardha-śuddha, Catuṣpāda-viśuddha and Āśuddha. As we have seen above, he gives some details about Kaikeya and Śaurasena Paiśācī, but the rest he disposes off with a few remarks only. Mārkaṇḍeya agrees with Rāmaśarman about the Paiśācī dialects; but he quotes some lines, in the introductory portion of his grammar (p. 2), which indicate that Paiśācī had eleven regional dialects.

काश्चीदेशीयपाण्डये च पाञ्चालं गौडमागधम् ।
ब्राह्मणं दाक्षिणात्यं च शौरसेनं च कैकयम् ॥
शाबरं द्राविडं चैव एकादश पिशाचजाः ।

In excluding others and describing only three varieties, Kaikeya, Śaurasena and Pāñcāla, his explanation is that these three are Nāgara (i. e., belonging to the town, cultured) and hence important; while others are to be known from the people (*apare lokataḥ*). Though Lakṣmīdhara follows Hemacandra and Trivikrama in describing Paiśācī and C.-Paiśācī, he gives a couple of traditional verses (p. 4):

पिशाचदेशास्तु वृद्धैरुक्ताः--
पाण्ड्य-कैकय-बाह्लीक-सिंह-नेपाल-कुन्तलाः ।
सुधेष्ण-भोज¹-गान्धार-हैव-कञ्जोजनास्तथा ॥
एते पिशाचदेशाः स्युस्तद्देश्यस्तद्गुणो भवेत् ।
पिशाचज!तमथवा पैशाचीद्वयमुच्यते ॥

Between Rāmaśarman's and the quotation of Mārkaṇḍeya, some six names are common; but if we take the three lists noted by Rāmaśarman, Lakṣmīdhara and Mārkaṇḍeya only Kaikeya is common. It is a significant residue, because it is this dialect that is preeminently discussed by Puruṣottama and his followers; and it is this dialect that fairly agrees with the description of Paiśācī given by Vararuci and Hemacandra. Thus, therefore, we can accept Kaikeya Paiśācī as the basic or standard Paiśācī.

These statements with regard to the number of Paiśācī dialects will have to be treated with an amount of discount, or possi-

¹ v. l. बोट,

bly their statements are based on perverted notions that Paisāci was the language of goblins (*Piśūcas* or *Bhūtas*) that lived in different places. If these statements represent actual state of things, then, in view of the distant provinces included, one has to admit that Paisāci was the language current almost all over India and even outside; but for such a view there is no evidence at all. Kaikeya is the only name common to all the lists which along with Gandhāra will have to be located in the North West of India.

19. The sub-dialect Cūlikā Paisāci is first mentioned by Hemacandra; and it is not much different from the Paisāci of Vararuci, if the rules of Hemacandra are soberly interpreted taking into account their optional meaning. It was usual to trace the word Cūlikā from *kṣudra* and thus understand Cūlikā Paisāci as a minor Paisāci, a sub-variety of Paisāci. In the absence of any explanation from Hemacandra himself, a conjecture like the above was justified to a certain extent. Lately Dr. P. C. Bagchi has shed much light on the possible antecedents of this Cūlikā Paisāci in a brilliant paper published in the Journal of the Department of Letters.¹ Most of the names of the Paisāci subdialects mentioned by grammarians and noted above are of geographical import; so we can expect the same in the case of Cūlikā Paisāci as well. Pargiter² tried to connect it with a people called Cūlikā. Taking a survey of the different Purāṇic sources Dr. Bagchi finds that the name appears with different spellings: Cūlika, Cūlika, Cūḍika, Śūlika, Sūlik and Jhillika, and of these Cūlika and Śūlika are the most frequent; 'both of them appear as the variants of the same name and both are located in the same region, either the North or the North-West.' Śūlikas, like the Cūlikas, are mentioned along with Tukhāra, Yavana, Pahlava, Cina etc., and in the Fan-yu-tsa-ming of Li-yen, a Sanskrit Chinese vocabulary of the 8th century A. D., *suri* (*suī*) is explained as *Hon* 'barbarians' applied by the Chinese only to the Sogdians in that period. Thus with the help of Indian and non-Indian sources and in the light of the phonetic changes available in the middle Indo-Aryan, the

¹ Volume XXI, Calcutta 1931, pp. 1-10.

² *JRAS.* for 1912, pp. 711-2, 'Cūlikā-Paiścika Prākṛit' by F. E. Pargiter.

identity of Cūlika-śūlika and Sogdian may be taken as established; and 'Cūlikā Paiśāci may be considered to have been a variety of North-Western Prākṛit spoken by the Sogdians.' These Sogdians appear to have come to India along with conquering hordes even before the beginning of the Christian era. They had a large part of the trade between China and Western countries in their hands. They did not play any political rôle, but they were good agriculturists and excellent merchants. Certain family names in Punjab remind us of Sogdians, and it is not improbable if one is tempted to trace Caulukya and Solaki back to Sogdians. 'Thus assuming that the Sogdians had come up to India along with the Śāka-Yavana-Pahlava about the Christian era, it is quite natural to expect that they had formed settlements of their own in the Punjab. In their intercourse with the Indians they probably had to adopt the Prākṛit spoken in North-Western India like their companions. The phonetic peculiarities of their own language were sure to influence the Prākṛit adopted by them and ultimately the Prākṛit as spoken by them might have been recorded by the grammarians as Cūlikā Paiśāci. It was probably current and understood everywhere from the Punjab upto the valley of Oxus.' There are strong reasons to believe that the Sogdians were in close touch with India and their monks knew some original language of the Buddhist texts either Sanskrit or North-Western Prākṛit in which the Prākṛit *Dhammapada* was written. 'This Prākṛit as we know from other sources was current in the entire region from the Punjab to Khotan.' Lastly Dr. Bagchi shows some common points between the Sogdian and Cūlikā Paiśāci phonetic system. Dr. Bagchi's theory is full of suggestions: it explains well the close similarity between Pāli and Paiśāci-Cūlikā Paiśāci; it confirms the view of the grammarians that the standard Paiśāci was associated with Kaikeya country; and lastly it shows that the home of Paiśāci lay originally in the North-West of India.

20. Prākṛit grammarians have treated Paiśāci as a purely literary language; there are indications, however, that in the beginning it must have been the spoken language of some country or clan. Terms like Māgadhi, Śauraseni do indicate territorial associations; and the line quoted by Lakṣmīdhara (*piśāca-deśa-niyatam Paiśāci-dvīṭayam bhavet*) mentions a Piśāca-deśa with

which Paisāci and Cūlikā Paisāci are associated. Bhāmaha says that it is the language of the Piśācas. Daṇḍin and Vāgbhata call it Bhūta-bhāṣā, the word *piśāca* being taken as *bhūta*, a goblin. That only shows how the language was getting a mythical halo about it. Some of the dialectal names (*Vrācaḍa* etc.) used by Rāmaśarman show that Paisāci was being confounded with Apabhramśa also.

21. Various problems connected with Paisāci have engrossed the attention of modern scholars. Pischel¹ holds the view that the name of the dialect was originally derived from a people or a country, and 'this name was similar in sound to 'Piśāca'; the language too was later referred to the demons called Piśāca.' In the opinion of Crooke, noted by Pischel, this dialect was called Bhūta-bhāṣā because of its nasalising tendency which popularly characterises the demons. Grierson² has touched this point more elaborately. With various references from Mahābhārata and Purāṇas he shows how Piśācas, 'human beings obnoxious to the authors of the passages in which their names occur' were a clan of people associated with Śakas, Yavanas etc., and therefore possibly belonging to the North-West of India. Possibly they were of Aryan origin whom Indians called Piśācas or 'eaters of raw flesh.' They once lived in the deserts of Central Asia and later on in Kafiristan. The traditional cannibalism attributed to them still survives in the mountain country to the North-West of India. That Piśācas or Bhūtas were possibly a Himalayan tribe is generally accepted. S. P. L. Narasimhaswami³ in his paper on Bhūtas indicates from a comparative study of Purāṇas that Bhūtas formed an independent Himalayan clan with distinct racial characteristics. Their chiefs were Rudras, and they fought against Asuras.

22. Different opinions are expressed about the significance of Paisāci language; and both Konow and Grierson⁴ have taken a review of these opinions. Lassen thought that Paisāci was a

¹ Pischel: *Grammatik der Prākṛit-sprachen*, Strassburg 1900, § 27. etc.

² Grierson: 'Paisāci, Piśācas and 'Modern Piśāca' in *ZDMG.*, 1912, pp. 49-86.

³ Belvalkar: *Kāvya-dārśa*, part first, Poona 1919, Notes p. 32.

⁴ *ZDMG* 1910, pp. 95-108 'The Home of Paisāci' by Sten Konow; *Ibidem*, 1912, pp. 49-86, Paisāci, Piśācas and 'Modern Piśāca,' by Grierson.

dialect spoken by hill people and derived, not from Śauraseni, but from Sanskrit. According to Hoernle, Paiśācī was 'the low Prākṛit spoken by Dravidian aborigines who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants and in whose mouths the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paiśācī. Gradually, as the aboriginal population was amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paiśācī speech would naturally die out, and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Dravidian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan Vernacular Hoernle identified with Apabhraṃśa. Senart suggested that Paiśācī was merely a name of the popular language of India, and that at the time of Vararuci it was probably the same as Apabhraṃśa, or closely resembled it, the two being subsequently differentiated by later grammarians.' Pischel took it to be an independent Prākṛit dialect whose home must be looked for in the North-West of India. Grierson followed Pischel, but he would admit the position that in later times there may have been Paiśācī-speaking colonies in other parts of India. According to Lacôte the Paiśācī of Guṇādhya was based upon an Aryan language of the North-West or West, but it was spoken by non-Aryan peoples. Konow practically agrees with Hoernle, and considers Paiśācī to be an Aryan language as spoken by Dravidians of Central India.

23. The original home of Paiśācī is closely related with the significance of the language and with the people that spoke this language originally ; and it has become a matter of controversy. When the evidences are meagre, there is always a crop of scholarly conjectures of conflicting nature. Hoernle, who considered Paiśācī to be the low Prākṛit spoken by Dravidians, located its home to the South of Vindhya. He had in view the Paiśācī features, viz., preservation of *ḷ*, its preference for the dental nasal and its change of medie into tenues. Konow's¹ position may be stated in his own words ; " we have seen that Indian tradition, which considers Guṇādhya as the author who first introduced the use of Paiśācī into literature, holds that he learned Paiśācī in the

¹ ZDMG., 1910, p. 118.

Vindhyas, where he had retired from Ujjayini; further, that the characteristic features of Paisācī assign to it a position intermediate between Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī; and finally, that two of the most prominent characteristics of Paisācī can be traced at the present day in Mālvi while the most prominent can be explained as the result of Dravidian influence. I am unable to resist the accumulative evidence of all these facts, and I think that the only conclusion is that the Paisācī described by Prakrit grammarians was based on a dialect spoken in and about Vindhyas, and perhaps further to the south and east." Taking into account the common points between Pāli and Paisācī, already noted above, Konow remarks thus. "If this theory about the home of Paisācī proves to be the right one, it follows that also Pāli, the language of the Buddhist Canon in Ceylon, Burma and Siam, is based on an Aryan dialect spoken in the same neighbourhood as maintained by Westergard, Kuhn, and others." Later on Konow¹ has pointed a passage from Rājasekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* which confirms his view.

Grierson's view that Paisācī was the language of the Piśacas, a North-Western clan, is already noted above. He admits that there is a close similarity between Pāli and Paisācī. He would, however, put both of them in the North-West of India.² Paisācī was the vernacular language of the country round Takṣaśilā and Pāli was the medium of literary instruction in the Takṣaśilā University. Though originally North-West was the home of Paisācī, Grierson would admit that in later days there may have been Paisācī speaking colonies in other parts of India. Further he points out that Paisācī agrees in many details with the languages of the Kāfir and Dard groups of the North-West.

Grierson's view is really suggestive in portions of it but his structure of arguments has many loop-holes in it. When once he accepted the agreements between Pāli and Paisācī, he had to locate them near one another. 'If mountain did not come to Muhammada, Muhammada should go to mountain': he could not accept the position that Paisācī is Mid-Indian, so he tries to

¹ Rājasekhara on the home of Paisācī, *JRAS.*, 1921, pp. 244-46; also a rejoinder by Grierson, *Ibid.*, pp. 424-8.

² The home of literary Pali, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, Poona 1917, pp. 117-23.

prove that Pāli was the medium of instruction in Taxila, so that Paiśāci and Pāli can come together and their mutual agreements can be explained. The so-called points of agreements such as the retention of intervocalic consonants and the retention of *r* and *y* are not the special features of these Prākṛits only; but they are points of common inheritance from Sanskrit; and so it is necessary that the original homes of Pāli and Paiśāci should be considered independently. Paiśāci was the language of the Piśācas can be accepted.

Keith¹ raises some objections against Grierson's views of North-Western home of Paiśāci. He points out that Paiśāci has only one sibilant while the North-Western Aśokan Inscriptions distinguish between at least two. Further the so called Gipsy dialects and the dialects of Hindukush mountains distinguish between all the three sibilants. Keith wants to place the home of Paiśāci near about Vindhya, and he adds some positive evidences almost following Konow. *ḷ* and *n* which are present in Paiśāci, as distinguished from other Prākṛit dialects, are as well preserved in Mālvī which is to be placed near Vindhya. The Kashmerian recensions of *Bṛhatkathā* give clear assertion for the connection of Paiśāci with Vindhya area, and in the absence of any special motive on the part of those authors there is no reason why their statements should not be favourably accepted. Then the testimony of Rājasekhara is clearly in favour of the actual use of Paiśāci in a wide region including Vindhya area. Lastly the field of Guṇādhya's activity lay round Kauśāmbi and Ujjain.

The scrutiny of the above evidences shows that Keith is giving indiscriminately two sets of evidences, one belonging to the early centuries before Christ and the other belonging to mediæval Indian history. Phonological differences between North-Western Inscriptions and Paiśāci cannot be put forth as an evidence against Grierson's view about the home of Paiśāci for various reasons: the Aśokan Edicts are not original local drafts, but possibly they are translations into local dialects from the court language of Aśoka and the Kharoṣṭhī script is mainly responsible for many of the so-called dialectal characteristics of Shahabazgarhi and Manserha Edicts. Further the evidences of Rājasekhara and Kashmerian Versions of *Bṛhatkathā* belong to the

¹ *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 28, etc., 269 etc.

4 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I,]

middle ages and as such they cannot possibly disprove that *Paiśāci* had its original home in the *Piśāca* country.

24, Despite these conflicting arguments on either side some facts are quite clear. It is reasonable on the analogy of *Śaurasenī*, *Māgadhi*, etc., that *Paiśāci* also derived its name from the country where it was spoken, viz. the *Piśāca* country, in North-Western of India, that was mainly populated by a tribe known as *Piśācas* or *Bhūtas*. The derivation of the name *Peshawar* from *Piśācapura* lends support to the above view. The statement of *Rājaśekhara*, the assertions of the Kashmerian recensions of *Bṛhatkathā* and the various countries with which *Paiśāci* is associated, perhaps according to some tradition, noted by *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Lakṣmidhara* go to show that by the time of middle ages *Paiśāci* was current near *Vindhyas*; and this is possible only by accepting that *Piśācas* were an itinerant tribe, who took their language with them from place to place. This conveniently explains *Mārkaṇḍeya*'s statement that it was current in countries distant from each other. And even *Grierson* is inclined to accept that *Paiśāci* might have travelled to *Vindhya* area from its original home in the *Piśāca* country. The arguments to make *Vindhya* area as the original home of *Paiśāci* are not sufficiently convincing. In conclusion, it may be stated that the North-West of India was possibly the *original* home of *Paiśāci*, but the dialect in the mouths of an itinerant tribe travelled in different parts of the country and was popular near *Vindhyas* sometime before *Rājaśekhara*. This conclusion has been further supported by the facts that the basic or standard *Paiśāci* is called *Kaikeya* *Paiśāci* by *Puruṣottama* and others, and that *Dr. Bagchi* also has arrived at the conclusion that *Cūlikā* *Paiśāci* might have been a variety of North-Western *Prākṛit* spoken by *Sogdians*. The fact that *Sogdians* were zealous traders would explain the spreading of *Paiśāci* over a wider area.

25. Grammarians have handled these *Prākṛits* as literary dialects which, as required by time-old conventions, were to be used in *Sanskrit* dramas by different characters according to their social status and grades. *Nāṭyaśāstra*¹ of *Bharata* does not mention *Paiśāci*, but it refers to a *Bāhlika* language of the *Khasas* who were closely associated with *Piśācas*, as noted by *Grierson*.

¹ G. O. S. Vol. 68, XVII, 49, 53 etc.

According to *Daśarūpaka* (IL 99), Paiśācī and Māgadhi are to be used by Piśācas, very low persons and the like. *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-bharaṇa* (chap. 2) illustrates the use of Paiśācī for *bhāṣā-śleṣa* with Sanskrit; and perhaps Rāmaśarman has got these varieties in view when he gives those last varieties of Paiśācī. *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra¹ prescribe Paiśācī and Māgadhi to extremely low characters and Piśācas. According to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* Paiśācī is to be assigned to Piśācas (VI. 164). These are the conventions laid down by the rhetoricians for the use of Paiśācī, but it is unfortunate that we do not come across Paiśācī passages in earlier dramas. According to Lakṣmīdhara Rākṣasas, Piśācas and low characters are to speak Paiśācī, but we find that Rākṣasa and his wife in *Veṇīsaṃhāra* speak Māgadhi and not Paiśācī.²

26. Unfortunately the Paiśācī language has preserved today an insignificantly poor literature, as compared with its once proud possession of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, the earliest work known to have been written in Paiśācī. Daṇḍin, in his *Kāvyā-darśa* i. 38, tells us that it was written in Bhūtabhāṣā; Namiśādhu refers the reader to *Bṛhatkathā* for other details about Paiśācī; and Mārkaṇḍeya too mentions the name of *Bṛhatkathā* in the section of Kaikeya Paiśācī. The original *Bṛhatkathā* in Paiśācī is lost almost beyond recovery. May we hope that it might one day be discovered like *Arthaśāstra* to revolutionise our notions about the history of Indian narrative literature!

Guṇāḍhya's³ personality is shrouded in mystery though there are some traditional glimpses from Kashmerian sources about him and the occasion of the composition of *Bṛhatkathā*. The origin of the story of *Bṛhatkathā* has a mythical source. Śiva once narrated it to Pārvatī. When Pārvatī came to know that it was overheard by an attendant Puṣpadanta, she cursed him to leave the heaven until he repeated the story to Kāṇabhūti who was to narrate the same to Mālyavanta—the last two also

¹ G. O. S. Vol. 48, p. 209.

² For a general discussion about the use of Prākritis in the drama, see *The Sanskrit Drama* by Keith, pp. 335 etc.

³ *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā* par F. Lacôte, Paris 1908 Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 266 etc.

were the victims of a curse. The curse is not fulfilled in one birth. Puṣpadanta was born as Vararuci Kātyāyana, the minister of Nandas, and narrated the story to Kāṇabhūti and got release from the curse. Mālyavanta was born as Guṇāḍhya at Pratiṣṭhita or Pratiṣṭhāna on Godāvarī. He became a favourite of king Sātavāhana who once suffered mortification at the hands of his wife as a result of his ignorance of the rules of euphonic combination in Sanskrit. In the course of water-sports she intended to forbid him to splash her with water (*modakāḥ*), but this was misunderstood by the king as a request to pelt her with those heavy sweetmeats. Guṇāḍhya proposed to teach him Sanskrit in six years; but when Śarvavarman, the author of *Kātanta-Vyākaraṇa*, taught the king Sanskrit in six months after ridiculing his lengthy period, he made a vow not to use Sanskrit, Prākṛit or vernacular. Guṇāḍhya left the court and wandered disconsolate in Vindhya where he met Kāṇabhūti who narrated to him the story learned from Vararuci. In view of his vow Guṇāḍhya recorded the story in Paisācī, the language of the goblins. The work was not well received by king Sātavāhana. Guṇāḍhya would not mind this: he went on narrating the story to birds and beasts, and burnt the Ms. as he proceeded. The sensitive animals intent on the sweet poetry grew thin to the extent of affecting the royal soup. This marvel, on reaching the king's ears, led him to rescue one seventh part of that work. The *Nepāla-māhātmya* gives a somewhat different version where Vararuci-Kātyāyana is absent. Guṇāḍhya is born at Mathurā and becomes a Paṇḍita of king Madana of Ujjaina: consequent on his being outwitted by Śarvavarman, he was requested by sage Pulastya to write in Paisācī.

It is a tradition and as such should not be given the credence of a contemporary evidence. The legend is moderately old and to some extent known to Bāṇa. Ujjaina or Kauśāmbī was the scene of Guṇāḍhya's inspiration. His association with the court of Sātavāhana may be accepted in view of the facts that Sātavāhana was a patron of Prākṛits as opposed to Sanskrit and that the kings of Āndhra dynasty were partial to Prākṛits before they adopted Sanskrit which was used by their Kṣatrapa rivals.

The loss of *Bṛhatkathā* is to some extent compensated by three

Sanskrit versions. *Brhatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha*, a Nepalese version, by Budhasvāmin (c. 8th Century A. D.) has higher merits, and in view of his use of a large number of Prākṛitisms it is probable that he had before him the original at least in portions. It exhibits a concise and elegant style worthy of the narration. Then there are two Kashmerian versions perhaps based on secondary epitomes of the original. The first is the *Brhatkathā-mañjarī* of Kṣemendra composed about 1000 A. D. It is a more compact work with an inclination towards elevated style. More extensive is the *Brhat-kathā-sarīt-sāgara* of Somadeva composed between 1063-81 A. D. His current of narration is clear and smooth: his style is simple and vivid with negligible grammatical and metrical slips. Almost everywhere his version is superior to that of Kṣemendra. In view of the mutual disagreement and decided interpolations in some, these versions cannot be taken as the literal representatives of Guṇāḍhya's work.

When the original work is lost, it is very difficult to say anything about its form etc.¹ Kashmerian versions suggest that it was in verse while Daṇḍin implies that it might have been in prose. Or it might have been an admixture of both like Campū works. The cumulative atmosphere of the three recensions gives the impression of flowing and rapid narrative in the original. Some glimpses of the contents can be had from the Sanskrit versions making all concessions to commissions and omissions by the redactors. The characteristic of the narration might have been perhaps a tale within a tale a feature quite common in early Jaina narrations and even copied by Bāṇa. It must have been a work to be ranked with the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, the three important streams of Indian Literature where the spirit of the goddess of learning flowed; and the author must have been

¹ Dr L. Alsdorf remarks: "The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* might well be called unique for more than one reason. The fact that it presents us with a detailed and circumstantial Jaina version of Guṇāḍhya's *Brhatkathā*, quite independent of the Kashmirian and Nepalese versions and highly valuable for the reconstruction of the lost original, lends it the greatest possible literary importance." He refers the readers to his paper 'Eine neue Version der verlorenen *Brhatkathā* des Guṇāḍhya' read by him at the 19th International Oriental conference at Rome. See Bulletin of S. O. S. Vol. VIII, Parts 2-3, p. 320.

really a master-mind. Its influence on later Indian literature is second only to *Mahābhārata*; and especially the Sanskrit dramas and Kāvya are heavily indebted to the tale of *Brhatkathā* for fairy and artistic elements.

There is no definite evidence to say that Hemacandra¹ has quoted in his grammar any prose sentence from *Brhatkathā*. Still more improbable is the suggestion² that Mārkaṇḍeya (c. 17th Century A. D.) actually had that text of *Brhatkathā* before him, though he pretends to quote a couple of words from *Brhatkathā* which he mentions by name. His meagre performance by way of quotations in the Kaikeya Paisāci section of his grammar is almost a conclusive proof to the contrary. In all probability the text of *Brhatkathā* existed in the sixth century A. D. or so. The work has been referred to by the following early writers: Daṇḍin (earlier than 600 A. D.) in his *Kāvyaḍarśa*; Subandhu (earlier than Bāṇa) in his *Vāsavadattā*; Bāṇa (c. last quarter of the 7th century A. D.) in his *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita*; Uddyotnasūri in his *Kuvalayamālā* (778 A. D.);³ Jināsena in his *Ādipurāṇa* (first quarter of the ninth century A. D.); Dhanamjaya in his *Daśarūpaka* (c. 10th century A. D.); and Somadeva in his *Yasastilakacampū* (959 A. D.). There is a Cambodian Inscription (circa 875 A. D.) which mentions Guṇāḍhya and his aversion to Prākṛit.

Turning to other sources we learn that as early as fifth or sixth century A. D. *Brhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya was epitomised in Tamil work *Perunkathai* by name believed to have been written by Konguvel. To Durvinita (c. 600 A. D.), a Kannaḍa author, is traditionally ascribed a Sanskrit version of Guṇāḍhya's *Brhatkathā*.⁴ Durgasimha in his Kannaḍa *Pañcatantra* says that his work is based on that of Vasubhāgabhaṭṭa who had extracted *Pañcatantra* from the *Brhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya in Paisāci⁵

The date of Guṇāḍhya is a matter of conjecture in the absence of any definite evidence. From the references to himself and to

¹ ZDMG., 1910, p. 106.

² JRAS., 1913, p. 391.

³ See *Kāvyaṃmānsū*, G. O. S. No. 1, 3rd ed., Notes p. 204.

⁴ See R. Narasimhachar's note in JRAS., 1913, pp. 389-90

⁵ R. Narasimhachar: *Kavīcarite* p. 152 of Vol. I,

his work, noted above, it is clear that the later limit can be taken to be the sixth century A. D. The way in which Daṇḍin refers to *Brhatkathā* and his easy substitution of Bhūta-bhāṣā for Paiśācī perhaps indicate that he was sufficiently posterior to Guṇāḍhya. If Bhāsa's indebtedness to him and his association with Sātavāhana were to be accepted as facts, then he might be put at the beginning of the Christian era, but it is only a conjecture.

27 After Guṇāḍhya's work there is a deplorable gap in the history of Paiśācī literature. Possibly a set-back was given to the currency of Paiśācī by Māhārāṣṭrī which because of its phonetic ease and mobility soon gained ground and became popular as a vehicle of lyrical and erotic poetry. The phonetic character of Paiśācī (with that of Cūlikā Paiśācī) as a whole is decidedly wanting in the fluidity of Māhārāṣṭrī and the softness of Śaurasenī, and as such it must have been easily antiquated. And when Paiśācī came to be considered as the language of goblins, no aristocratic author, proud of his Aryan tongue, would easily condescend to write in the language of devils and demons. A Tibetan tradition is noted that Paiśācī was made use of in Buddhist literature. Konow admits the close relation between Pāli and Paiśācī, and further remarks: 'no other Buddhist canon is known which can be considered as written in Paiśācī. If therefore there is any foundation for the Tibetan tradition, it is very likely the Pāli canon which is meant.'¹

28. After Guṇāḍhya, so far as we knew, it is Hemacandra that gave some impetus to the dying Paiśācī. Vararuci and Caṇḍa described Paiśācī traits, but their illustrations were, in almost all cases, confined to a few detached words. But Hemacandra is the first Prākṛit grammarian who quotes a couple of verses in the Paiśācī section. In his *Kumārapūlacarita*,² which was written mainly to illustrate the rules of his grammar, he has composed half a dozen Paiśācī verses and a couple of Cūlikā Paiśācī verses. The later Paiśācī specimens are more or less exercises to illustrate Hemacandra's rules. In the Sanskrit drama, *Hammīra-mada-mardana*,³ composed between 1219-29 A. D.

¹ ZDMG., 1910, p. 104.

² Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series LX, Poona 1936.

³ G. O. S. No. 10, Baroda 1920, pp. 36-38.

of Jayasimhasūri, we have two Yavana characters, Gorī-Isapa and Milat-srikārah, that speak Paisāci, or more correctly Cūlikā Paisāci. The text however is not well preserved. Yasapāla, in his allegorical play, *Moharājaparājaya*,¹ written between 1229-32 A. D. and composed to commemorate Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism, puts Paisāci dialect in the mouths of Śūnā and Mārī, two sisters symbolically representing Slaughter and Epidemic. Here also the text is badly preserved, but we can detect some Paisāci and Cūlikā Paisāci traits. There are some Jaina Stotras composed in different dialects; and some verses are devoted to Paisāci and Cūlikā Paisāci. The earliest Stotra known to us is the *Pārśva-stava* of Dharma-var dhana (first quarter of the 13th Century A. D.) in eleven stanzas.² Then there are three such Stotras written by Jinaprabha (1292-1312 A. D.) in honour of three Jaina Tīrthamkaras, Rṣabha, Candraprabha and Śānti. Similar Stotras, five in number, in praise of Rṣabha, Śānti, Nemi, Pārśva and Vardhamāna have been composed by Somasundara (earlier than the middle of the 15th Century A. D.).³

¹ G. O. S., No. 9, Baroda.

² *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, Bonn. 1926, pp. 89-97.

³ *Jaina-stotra-samuccayaḥ* ed. by Caturavijayamuni, Nirṇayasagara Press, Bombay 1928, pp. 99 etc.

GLOSSARY

This is a glossary of all the Pāṣāṇī words found in Prākṛit grammars that have been used for this Paper. The references are to the paragraphs of this Paper.

अच्छति 5
 अच्छते 5
 अञ्जातिसो 5
 अतिष्ठ 5
 अर्थ 5
 अत्थाशनं 5
 अथ 5
 अध 5
 अनया 5
 अनेकपो 4
 अनेन 5
 अग्ने 7
 अभिमञ्जू 5
 अम्हातिसो 5
 अय्यो 5
 अले 3
 अहुना 7
 अहुनि 7
 अभे 7
 आकाशं (सं ?) 4
 आगच्छमानो 5
 आगंतून 4
 आयुधं 5
 आरिओ 5
 इस्थि 7
 ईतिसो 5
 उक्खेवेन 6
 उच्छलंति 6
 एकातस 6
 एतातिसो 5

एति 4
 एतिसो 5
 एतिसं 5
 एत्थ 5
 एवं 5
 एसा 5
 कच्चं 2, 7
 कञ्जका 5, 7
 कञ्जा 2
 कट्टन 5
 कट्टे 7
 कत- 5
 कतं 5
 कत्थून 5
 कथं 5
 कथितून 5
 कथं 5
 कथितून 5
 कञ्जका 7
 कमठो 4
 कमलं 2
 कमळं 5
 कमळो 5
 करिअं 7
 कसटं 2, 5, 7
 कसिटं 5
 कंका 7
 कंतप्पो 3, 6
 कंप्ति 7
 कंप्ते 7
 कंप्तिता 6

का 5
 काठं 3, 6, 7
 कातूनं 2
 कारिअं 7
 काली 6
 किं 5
 किरितटं 3, 6
 किसनो 5
 किसानो 5
 किहं 7
 कीरति 5
 कीरते 5
 कुटुंबकं 5
 कुटुंबकं 5
 कुपचि 7
 कुरुको 7
 कुसुम 5
 कुळं 5
 केतिसो 5
 केरी 7
 केसपो 2
 कोमळो 5
 कोसलं 4
 खनो 6
 खम्मो 3, 6
 खरं 7
 गकनं 2
 गच्छति 5
 गच्छते 5
 गजो 4
 गज्जो 5

गडे 7	जानं 5	तुमातु 5
गती 6	डमरुको 3, 6	तुमातो 5
गतो 5	टिटिमो 7	तुमे 7
गन 5	ठक्का 3, 6	तुवातु 5
गमनं 2	डमरुको 6	तुवातो 5
गहनं 5	ढक्का 6	तुभे 7
गंतून 5	णअना (नअना ?) 7	तूरातु 5
गिड्यते 5	णिच्छरो 3	तूरातो 5
गीड्यते 5	तटाकं 3, 6	तेति 5
गुन 5	तटून 5	तेन 5
गुनेन 5	तडाकं 3	तेवरो 5
गोपितो 2	तत्थ 5	तेवो 7
गोली 6	तत्थून 5	थम्म 7
घनो 6	तत्थि 7	थरम 7
घम्मो 6	तटून 5	थलं 6
घेत्तून 2	तनु 6	थारा 6
च 5	तप्पनेसुं 6	थूली 6
चच्चरं 3, 6	तया 5	दटून 5
चच्चलं 6	तरीतु 5	दत्थून 5
चलं 7	तरूतु 5	दयात्तु 4
चलनगम 6	तरूतो 5	दसवतनो 2
चंतो 7	तलुनि 2	दंसनेन 5
चिम्हको 7	तलुनी 2	दातूनं 2
चिहमको 7	तससु 6	दानं 6
चितयतो 5	तं 5, 6	दामोतरो 6
चितयमाना 5	तंसने 5	दाव 5
चितितं 5	ताए 5	दिड्यते 5
चीमूतो 6	ताठा 6	दुद्ध 3
चीमूदो 3	तातिसो 5	देवरो 5
छच्छरो 3, 6	तापस 5	द्धजो 5
छच्छलो 6	तामोतरो 3, 5, 6	धजो 5
छंछानिलो 7	ताव 5	धञ्जो 5
जनो 6	तिट्टो 5	धनं 5
जलं 5	तिरिअच्च 7	धूली 6
जीमूतो 6	तीए 5	नकरं 6
जुत्तो 5	तुप्फे 7	नकलं 6
झच्छरो 6	तुमं 7	नख 6
झल्लरी 6		

नच्चतंस 6
 नटून 5
 नत्थून 5
 नदी 4
 नद्धून 5
 नमति 4
 नमथ 6
 नरो 6
 नलो 6
 नाए 5
 नाथो 7
 नाये (नाए) 5
 नाराअनो 7
 निच्छरो 2, 6
 निच्छलो 6
 निपतंति 6
 नियोचितं 6
 नियोजितं 6
 नीइय्यते 5
 नेति 5
 नेन 5
 पकुपित 6
 पखम 7
 पखमल 7
 पञ्जा 5
 पञ्जो 5
 पटिमा 6
 पट्टति 7
 पठितून 5
 पठिय्यते 5
 पडिय्यते 5
 पढम 5
 पडिय्यते 5
 पतनं 5
 पतनी 7
 पताका 5
 पतिबिंबं 6
 पत्ती 7
 पतुदेहो 5
 पथमं 4

पथुमी 7
 पदीपो 4
 पनमत 3, 5, 6
 पनमथ 6
 पनय 5, 6
 पनायिट्टितासा 3
 पानिपतनातु 5
 पानिपतनातो 5
 पयच्छसि 5
 पयूच्छे 7
 परवसो 5
 परिभमंतो 5
 पले 7
 पव्वती 5
 पंथवो 3, 6
 पाटलिपुत्तं 4
 पाटपो 6
 पात 6
 पातग्ग 5
 पापं 5
 पालको 6
 पालो 6
 पि 5
 पिञ्जात 7
 पिञ्जात 7
 पिफावरी 7
 पिव 2, 7
 पिशुने 7
 पिमालं 7
 पिसुमअ 7
 पिसुमओ 7
 पिसेसो 7
 पुञ्जं 5
 पुञ्जकम्मो 5
 पुञ्जाहं 5
 पुथुनी 7
 पुथुमी 7
 पुथुवी 4
 पुधुम 5
 पुरवं 5
 पूजितो 5

पूथुम 7
 पोसो 5
 प्पकुपित 6
 प्पकुवित 5
 प्पतानेन 5
 फकवती 6
 फनित्तं 7
 फवो 6
 फळं 5
 बालको 6
 बालो 6
 बिंबं 4
 भअवती 5
 भकवती 6
 भगवं 5
 भगवतीए 5
 भजसु 5
 भट्टो 5
 भरिआ 7
 भवाति 4, 5
 भवते 5
 भवातिसो 5
 भविष्यति 5
 भवेय्य 5
 भारिआ 2, 5, 7
 भारिया 5
 भोइय्यति 5
 भोइय्यते 5
 भोएय्य 5
 भोति 5
 भोस्सिमि 5
 भोस्सिंति 5
 मकर 3
 मकरं 5
 मकरकेतु 5
 मक्कणो 3
 मक्कनो 6
 मगधपुत्त 5

मञ्जू 5
 मङ्गे 7
 मढो 4
 मतं 5
 मतन 5
 मतनं 5
 मतनो 3, 6
 मतो 5
 मथुरं 3, 6
 मथुलं 6
 मदनो 4
 मनुश्शे 7
 मम 2
 ममातु 5
 ममातो 5
 मभ्ते 7
 महाधनं 5
 मं 5
 मंटलं 3
 मंतरो 6
 मंतलं 6
 मंतिलं 7
 मंतून 5
 माणुशे 7
 माथवो 2
 मानुशे 7
 मालातु 5
 मालातो 5
 मिर्भको 4
 मुकुळो 4
 मुखं 2, 4
 मे 2, 7
 मेखो 2, 3, 6, 7
 मेघो 4
 य 4, 6
 यञ 4
 यति 5
 यातिसो 5
 युत्तो 5

चिचिष्टदि 7
 च्छले 7
 च्येव 5
 च्येवं 5
 रजतं 4
 रञ्जा 2
 रञ्जो 2
 रञ्जा 5, 7
 रञ्जि 2, 7
 रञ्जो 2, 5, 7
 रथो 4
 रन्ना 7
 रन्नि 7
 रन्नो 7
 रफसो 6
 रमाति 5
 रमतु 5
 रमते 5
 रमिष्यते 5
 रंतून 5
 रंफा 6
 राचा 2, 3, 6
 राचानं 2
 राचिन्ना 5
 राचिन्नो 5
 राचिना 2, 7
 राचिनि 2, 7
 राचिनो 2, 5, 7
 राजं 5
 राजा 5
 रात्रा 4
 रामातो 5
 रामेन 5
 रामो 6
 लक्खसा 3
 लग्ग 6
 लपति 5
 लपते 5
 लपितं 4, 5

लच्छने 7
 लंफा 6
 लावणं 4
 लीला 6
 लुहं 5
 लुहिलं 7
 लो 5
 लोके 5
 वक्खो 3, 6
 वग्घो 2
 वचनं 4, 5
 वटिसं 2
 वट्टह (v. l. वट्टदि) 2
 वतनं 4
 वतनकं 5
 वतुको 5
 वधूतु 5
 वधूतो 5
 वनं 7
 वने 7
 वरं 5
 वरिओ 5
 वरिसी (-तरिसी) 7
 वसुआति 5
 वसुथा 6
 विजयसेनेन 5
 विञ्जातो 2
 विञ्जानं 5
 विञ्जो 5
 वितानं 4
 वियाधरो 4
 विधाए 5
 विफलं 4
 विसमो 5
 विसानो 5
 विसेसो 5
 वेतिसो 5
 वेस 5
 वेसो 5

शिरीतु 5
 शिरीतो 5
 सगरपुत्त 5
 सइला 6
 सक्को 5
 सढो 5
 सतं 5
 सततं 5
 सतनं 5
 सनानं 2, 7
 सनेहो 2
 सभा 4
 सर्मापिं 5
 समुदा 6
 सरउत्तं 7
 सरन्नं 7
 सरफसं 2
 सरो 6
 सलफो 2
 सलो 6
 सव्वउजो 2
 सव्वउजो 5
 सव्वस्स 5
 सव्वस्सेव 5

ससररीरो 5
 सासिआ 5
 ससी 5
 साळिळं 5
 संका 5
 संखो 5
 संगामो 2
 संजाणं (नं ?) 5
 सज्जा 5
 संठो 3, 6
 संतोसो 5
 संमानं 5
 सिनातो 5
 सिनानं 5
 सिनानेन 5
 सिनेहो 7
 सीळं 5
 सुको 4
 सुखम 7
 सुज्जो 5
 सुनुसा 5
 सुपरिसो 4
 सुभागो 4
 ससा 5

सूची 4
 सेसो 5
 सो 5
 सोभति 5
 सोभनं 5
 हके 7
 हक्के 7
 हरासि 2
 हलं 6
 हसति 7
 हसितून 5, 7
 हसिय्यत्ते 5
 हसेय्य 5
 हितअकं 2
 हितप 5
 हितपकं 4, 5, 7
 हितपके 5
 हिरअकं 7
 हुपय्य 5
 हुव 7
 हुवेय्य 5
 हो 7
 होति 5
 होतु 5

THE UPAPURĀNAS *

BY

R. C. HAZRA, M. A., Ph. D.

In these days when all lovers of India are gradually feeling the want of a true history of Indian life and thought of the by-gone days and consequently our able antiquarians are directing all their attention and energy towards its reconstruction, it is a matter of great surprise and disappointment that very little is known and still less has yet been said about those valuable records of Indian life and thought which are known as Upapurāṇas (or secondary Purāṇas).¹ The whole responsibility for such apathy

* This essay forms the introductory chapter of my forthcoming work, viz., *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, the first part of which will be published before long. I have decided to publish a considerable portion of this work in different oriental journals.

¹ The work done by scholars on the Upapurāṇas is very meagre and scarcely deserves any mention at all. H. H. Wilson, who, in his *Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological*, and in the Preface to his translation of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, says much on the Purāṇas, devotes only about five pages to the Upapurāṇas (see Wilson, *Viṣṇu-p.*, Preface, pp. lxxxvi-xci); Haraprasad Shastri's treatment of some of the Upapurāṇas in the Preface (pp. cc-ccxv) to his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V (Purāṇa Manuscripts), is no better than mere cataloguing; M. Winternitz devotes on the whole about seven pages to the treatment of only a very few of the Upapurāṇas in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I; J. N. Farquhar gives, in his *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, very short and scrappy information about a few Upapurāṇas only; the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, spares only about half a page for the treatment of these works; the Bengali encyclopaedia *Viśvakoṣa*, which devotes as many as 165 pages to the principal Purāṇas, deals with the Upapurāṇas in 3 columns only (see *Viśvakoṣa*, Vol. II, pp. 419-420); A. A. Macdonell finishes his treatment of the Upapurāṇas in four lines only, without caring to mention even a single name (see Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 302); so also does P. V. Kane who mentions the Upapurāṇas in four lines in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 163; and the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Vol. X, p. 455) has fourteen lines devoted to the Upapurāṇas. Besides these there are the *Notices* and the *Catalogues of Sanskrit Mss.*, especially those of R.L. Mitra, Eggeling and Th. Aufrecht, as well as four or five isolated articles on about the same number of Upapurāṇas. This is practically the whole work that has been done on the Upapurāṇas up to the present time.

of scholars towards these valued treasures must be laid on the high importance which has been attached, deservedly or undeservedly, for hundreds of years to the eighteen 'great' (*maḥat*) Purāṇas¹ as well as on the disparaging prefix '*upa*' attached to the common title (Upapurāṇa) used to characterise those Purāṇic works which are different from the 'great eighteen'. Whatever the reason may be, we should not, with all our critical acumen befitting the present age and its culture, be swayed by mere tradition and baseless impression but pause a little to see whether we are right in our attitude and, if not, be ready to give due consideration to this neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

Just as in the case of the Mahāpurāṇas, orthodox opinion tries to limit the number of the Upapurāṇas rigidly to 'eighteen,'² even in those cases where the promulgators of such opinions are fully conscious of the existence of a larger number;³

1 Though the name 'Mahāpurāṇa' for the 'eighteen' principal 'Purāṇas' is of very late origin, being found only in *Bhāgavata-p.* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) XII, 7, 10 and 22 and *Brahmavaivarta-p.* (Jivānanda's ed.) IV, 131, 7 and 10, it has now become very popular and is universally used for the older name 'Purāṇa.'

2 See *Kūrma-p.* (Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1890) I, 1, 16-20; *Skanda-p.* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) V, iii (Revā-khaṇḍa), 1, 46-52; *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 2; 11-15; *Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa* of the *Sūta-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, VI, p. 1378); *Saura-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.* (Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1382); *Revā-māhātmya* (which claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-p.* and is much the same as the *Revā-khaṇḍa* occurring in *Skanda-p.* V; see Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 65, Nos. 114-116); *Devā-bhāgavata* (Vaṅga. ed.) I, 133-16; *Garuḍa-p.* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) I, 223, 17-20 (= Jivānanda's edition 215, 17-20 = Vaṅgavāsī edition 227, 17-20); *Brhaddharma-p.* (ASB ed.) 25, 18-19 and 23-26; *Parāśara-upapurāṇa* (Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1230); *Gaṇeśa-p.* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) I, 1, 4; *Bhāgavata-p.* XII, 7, 22; and *Brahmavaivarta-p.* IV, 131, 22.

Also see *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 19, *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 792-3, *Viramitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣa-prakāśa*, pp. 13-15, *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I (*Dāna-khaṇḍa*), pp. 532-3 and II (*Vrata-khaṇḍa*), I, p. 21, and *Prasthāna-bheda* (of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, ed. Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1912), p. 10 (for the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in verses quoted from the '*Kūrma-p.*', '*Brahmavaivarta-p.*', etc.

Matsya-p. (AnSS. ed.) 53, 60-63 mention only four Upapurāṇas, viz., *Nārasiṃha*, *Nandīpurāṇa*, *Sāmba* and *Āditya* and seem to be ignorant of the group of 'eighteen.'

3 For example, after expressly mentioning that the Upapurāṇas are 'eighteen' in number and then giving the titles of the 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas, the *Brhaddharma-p.* (25, 27) says:

[continued on the next page]

but while in the enumerations of the Purāṇas there is almost complete agreement with regard to the titles,¹ this is by no means the case with the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of the disagreement I give below a number of lists of 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas which I have been able to collect from different sources.

I. *Kūrma-p.* I, 1, 17-20 :—

- 1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroktā), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Skānda, 4 Śiva-dharma, 5 Durvāsasokta, 6 Nāradya, 7 Kāpila, 8 Vāmana, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālika, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Śāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśarokta, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava.²

(continued from the previous page)

'anyās ca samhitāḥ sarvā mārīca-kāpilādayaḥ |
sarvatra dharma-kathane tulya-sāmarthyam ucyate,'¹¹

thus intimating its knowledge not only of the *Mārīca* and the *Kāpila* Upapurāṇas but also of others. (Note the word 'ādayaḥ' in 'mārīca-kāpilādayaḥ'.)

¹ In some of the lists of 'eighteen' principal Purāṇas the title 'Śiva' or 'Śaiva' is found in place of 'Vāyaviya'. See, for instance, *Viṣṇu-p.* III, 6, 21ff., *Bhāgavata* XII, 7, 23ff. and XII, 13, 4ff., *Kūrma-p.* I. 1. 13ff. *Padma-p.* (AnSS. ed.) I, 62, 2ff., IV, 111, 90ff., VI, 219. 25ff., and VI, 263, 77ff., *Varāha-p.* (ASB. ed.) 112, 69ff., *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* (Vaṅga and Venkaṭ. editions) 134, 8ff., *Liṅga-p.* (Jivānanda's ed.) I, 39, 61ff., *Śiva-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) V, (Vāyaviya-samhitā), i, 1, 38ff., Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa of the Sūta-samhitā commented on by Mādhavācārya (Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1377,) Saura-samhitā of the *Skānda-p.* (Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1382), Saṁbhava-kāṇḍa of the Śiva-rahasya-khaṇḍa of the Śaṅkara-samhitā of the *Skānda-p.* (Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1363), and so forth.

The *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (25, 20-22) gives the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas as: *Brāhma*, *Pādma*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Mahābhāgavata*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Gāruḍa*, *Liṅga*, *Śaiva*, *Vārāha*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Skānda*, *Kurma*, *Mātsya*, *Āgneya*, *Vāyavya* and *Śrī-bhāgavata* (omitting the *Vāmana* and the *Nāradya* and naming the *Mahābhāgavata* and the *Śiva* in their stead).

In the verses of a 'Kālikā-p.' quoted in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 531, the 'Śaiva', *Kālikā* (for *Bhāgavata*), *Saura* and *Vahni* (*Vahni-p.*?) are included among the eighteen principal Purāṇas.

- ² ādyaṃ sanatkumāroktam nārasimham ataḥ param |
tṛtīyaṃ skāndam uddiṣṭam kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam ||
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyam sākṣān-nandīśa-bhāṣitam |
durvāsasoktam āścaryaṃ nāradyam ataḥ param ||
kāpilam vāmanaṃ caiva tathaivośanaseritam |
brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam caiva kālikāhvayam eva ca ||

(continued on next page)

II. *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (p. 19) of Nārasiṃha Vājapeyin who gives the titles of the Upapurāṇas on the authority of the 'Kūrma-p.'

- 1 Sanatkumāriya, 2 Nārasiṃha, 3 Nandīpurāṇa, 4 Śivadharmā, 5 Durvāsaḥ-purāṇa, 6 Nāradiya, 7 Kāpila, 8 Vāmana, 9 Auśanasa, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Śāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśarokta, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava.¹

III. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 792-3—

- 1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroktā), 2 Nārasiṃha, 3 Vāyaviya, 4 Śivadharmā, 5 Durvāsaśokta, 6 Nāradiya, 7-8 Nandikeśvara-yugma, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Kāpila, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Śāmba, 15 Daiva, 16 Parāśarokta, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhāskara.²

(continued from the previous page)

māheśvaraṃ tathā śāmbaṃ sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam |
parāśaroktaṃ mārīcaṃ tathaiva (v. l. parāśaroktaṃ aparaṃ
mārīcaṃ) bhārgavāhvayaṃ |
(*Kūrma-p.* I, 1, 17-20).

These verses occur in the Vaṅgavāsī and Veṅkaṭeśvara editions of the *Kūrma-p.* without any difference in readings, but in the former edition there is no v. l. in the last line.

- 1 'kūmapurāṇe upapurāṇāny aṣṭādaśoktāni—
anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu |
aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā saṃkṣepato dvijāḥ ||

ity uktvā parigaṇitam—sanatkumāriyaṃ nārasiṃhaṃ nandīpurāṇaṃ śivadharmākhyam durvāsaḥ-purāṇaṃ nāradiyaṃ kāpilam vāmanaṃ auśanasaṃ brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam kālikā māheśvaraṃ śāmbaṃ sauraṃ parāśaroktaṃ mārīcam bhārgavam |'—*Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 19.

- 2 kaurme—

anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāny api |
tāni ca nārasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīnīti, yathā—
ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasiṃham tataḥ param |
tṛtīyam vāyaviyam ca kumāreṇa ca bhāṣitam ||
caturtha[m] śivadharmākhyam sāksān-nandīśa-bhāṣitam |
durvāsaśoktam āscaryam nāradiyam ataḥ param ||
nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ ca tathaivośanaseritam |
kāpilam vāruṇam cātha kālikāhvayaṃ eva ca ||
māheśvaraṃ tathā śāmbaṃ daivam sarvārtha-siddhidam |
parāśaroktaṃ aparaṃ mārīcam bhāskarāhvayaṃ ||'

(*Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 792-3).

The corresponding passage in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Malamāsa-tattva* reads 'śāmbaṃ' for 'cātha' (in the line 'kāpilam vāruṇam cātha') and 'pādmaṃ' for 'śāmbaṃ' (in the line 'māheśvaraṃ tathā śāmbaṃ'). But as such readings would make the number of the Upapurāṇas nineteen they may be rejected.

IV. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-14—

- 1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroktā), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Nānda, 4 Śiva-dharma, 5 Durvāsasokta, 6 Nāradya, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Śāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśarokta, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava.¹

V. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 532-3—

- 1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroktā), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Nānda (v. l. 'nāradaṃ' for 'nāndaṃ'), 4 Śivadharmā, 5 Durvāsasokta, 6 Nāradokta, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Śāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśarokta, 17-18 Bhāgavata-dvaya.²

VI. 'Kūrma-p.' quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II, 1, p. 21—

- 1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroktā), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Nānda, 4 Śivadharmā (v. l. 'nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ'), 5. Durvāsasokta,

¹ kaurme mahāpurāṇe—

anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu |

aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā saṃkṣepato dvijāḥ ||

śrutvā kathitānityanvayaḥ | tāni ca tatraiva—

ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham tataḥ param |

trītiyam nāndam uddiṣṭam kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam ||

caturtham śivadharmākhyam sākṣān-nandīśa-bhāṣitam |

durvāsasoktam āścaryam nāradyam ataḥ param ||

kāpilam mānavam caiva tathaivośanaseritam |

brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam caiva kālikāhvayam eva ca ||

māheśvaram tathā śāmbam sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam |

parāśaroktam aparam mārīcam bhārgavāhvayam ||

(*Vīramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-14).

² 'kūrma-purāṇe—

anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu |

ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham ataḥ param ||

trītiyam nāndam (v. l. nāradaṃ) uddiṣṭam kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam |

caturtham śivadharmākhyam sākṣān-nandīśa-bhāṣitam ||

durvāsasoktam āścaryam nāradoktam ataḥ param |

kāpilam mānavam caiva tathaivośanaseritam ||

brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam cātha kālikāhvayam eva ca |

māheśvaram tathā śāmbam sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam ||

parāśaroktam pravaram tathā bhāgavatam dvayam ||

(*Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 532-3).

6 Nāradoḁta, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, (v. l. *māricam*) 9 Uśa-
naserita, 10 Brahmāṇḁa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālikā, 13 Māhe-
śvara, 14 Śāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśaroḁta, 17-18 Bhā-
gavata-dvaya. ¹

VII. ' *Kūrma-p.* ' quoted in the *Śabda-kalpadruma* (under
upapurāṇa ')--

1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroḁta), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Vāyaviya, 4
Śivadharmā, 5 Durvāśasoḁta, 6 Nāradiya, 7 Nandikeśvara-
yugma, 8 Uśanaserita, 9 Kāpila, 10 Vāruṇa, 11 Śāmba,
12 Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Pādma, 15 Daiva, 16 Parāśa-
roḁta, 17 Mārica, 18 Bhāskara. ²

VIII. Saura-saṁhitā of the *Skanda-purāṇa*--

1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroḁta), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Skāṇḁa, 4 Śiva-
dharma, 5 Durvāśa-saṁproḁta, 6 Nāradiya, 7 Kāpila, 8
Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḁa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12
Kāli-purāṇa, (also called Kālakāṇḁha), 13 Vāsiṣṁha-liṅga
(also called Māheśvara), 14 Śāmba-purāṇa (also called

1 ' *kūrma-purāṇe*--

anyāṇy upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu |
ādyam sanatkumāroḁtam nārasimham ataḥ param ||
tṛtīyam nāṇḁam uddiṣṁam kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam |
caturtham śivadharmākhyam (v. l. nandikeśvara-yugmam ca)
sākṣān-nandīśa-bhāṣitam ||

durvāśasoḁtam āścaryam nāradoktam ataḥ param |
kāpilam mānavam (v. l. māricam) caiva tathaivośanaseritam ||
brahmāṇḁam vāruṇam caiva kālikāhvayam eva ca |
māheśvaram tathā śāmbam sauram sarvārtha-saṁcayam |
parāśaroḁtam prathamam tathā bhāgavata-dvayam || ¹

(*Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II, i, p. 21)

2 ' ādyam sanatkumāroḁtam nārasimham ataḥ param |
tṛtīyam vāyaviyam ca kumāreṇānubhāṣitam ||
caturtham śivadharmākhyam sākṣān-nandīśa-bhāṣitam |
durvāśasoḁtam āścaryam nāradyam ataḥ param ||
nandikeśvara-yugmam ca tathaivośanaseritam |
kāpilam vāruṇam śāmbam kālikāhvayam eva ca ||
māheśvaram tathā pādnam daivam sarvārtha-sādhikam |
parāśaroḁtam aparam māricam bhāskarāhvayam || ²

(*Śabda-kalpadruma*, under ' upapurāṇa ').

In the above verses, which agree almost literally with the verses of the
' *Kūrma-purāṇa* ' quoted in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Mālamāsa-tattva* (pp.
264-5) of Raghunāṇḁana, the number of the Upapurāṇas is practically nine-
teen. If the two *Nandikeśvaras* are taken to form one Upapurāṇa, then, of
course, the number becomes eighteen.

Susūkṣma), 15 Saura-purāṇa (also called Sāvitra), 16 Pārāśarya, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava.¹

IX. *Skanda-p.* V, iii (Revā-khaṇḍa), 1, 46-52—

1 Saura (also called Sanatkumāra), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Śaukeya, 4 Bārhaspatya, 5 Daurvāsasa, 6 Nāradokta, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Sāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Pārāśara, 17 Bhāgavata, 18 Kaurma.²

X. Revā-māhātmya which, though much the same as the Revā-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda-p.*, claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-p.*

1 Saura (also called Sanatkumāra), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Nandā-purāṇa, 4 Śivadharmā, 5 Daurvāsasa, 6 Nāradokta, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa,

¹ 'ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham tataḥ param |
trītiyam skādam uddiṣṭam kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam ||
caturtham śivadharmākhyam purāṇam nandineritam |
tato durvāsa-samproktam nāradyam tataḥ param ||
kāpilam mānavam caiva tathaivośanaseritam |
brahmāṇḍam ca tataḥ puṇyam vāruṇākhyam tataḥ param ||
tataḥ kālipurāṇākhyam kālakaṇṭham ca nāmataḥ |
tato vāsiṣṭha-līṅgākhyam nāmnā māheśvaram tviti ||
tataḥ sāmhapurāṇākhyam susūkṣmam iti ceritam |
tataḥ saurapurāṇākhyam sāvitrām iti ceritam ||
pārāśaryam ca mārīcam bhārgavam muni-puṅgavāḥ '

Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1382.

² 'idam brahmapurāṇasya sulabham sauram uttamam |
samhitā-dvaya-samyuktam puṇyam śiva-kathāśrayam ||
ādyā sanatkumāroktā dvitīyā sūrya-bhāṣitā |
sanatkumāra-nāmnā hi tad vikhyātam mahāmune ||
dvitīyam nārasimham ca purāṇe pādma-saṃjñite |
śaukeyam hi trītiyam tu purāṇe vaiṣṇave matam ||
bārhaspatyam catrurtham ca vāyavyam sammatam sadā |
daurvāsasam pañcamam ca smṛtam bhāgavate sadā ||
bhaviṣye nāradoktam ca sūribhiḥ kathitam purā ||
kāpilam mānavam caiva tathaivośanaseritam ||
brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam cātha kālikāhvayam eva ca |
māheśvaram tathā sāmham sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam ||
pārāśaram bhāgavatam kaurmam cāṣṭādaśam kramāt ||

(*Skanda-p.* V, iii, 1, 46-52).

In the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Skanda-p.* there is no variation in readings.

11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Śāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Pārāśara, 17 Bhāgavata, 18 Kaurma. ¹

XI. *Skanda-p.* VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa), 1, 2, 11-15—

1 Ādya (Sanatkumārokti), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Skānda (v. l. 'nāndam' both in the Vaṅgavāsī and Veṅkaṭeśvara Press editions of the *Skanda-p.*) 4 Śivadharmā, 5 Durvāsasokta, 6 Nāradokta, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara, 14 Śāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśarokta, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava. ²

XII. Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the *Skanda-p.*—

1 Ādya (sanatkumāreṇa proktaṃ), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Nānda, 4 Śivadharmā, 5 Daurvāsa, 6 Nāradīya, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālīpurāṇa, 13 Vāsiṣṭha-līṅga (also called Māheśvara),

- 1 'idaṃ brahmapurāṇasya khilaṃ sauraṃ anuttamaṃ |
saṃhitā-dvaya-samyuktaṃ puṇyaṃ śiva-kathāśrayaṃ ||
ādyā sanatkumāroktā dvitīyā sūrya-bhāṣitā |
sanatkumāra-nāmnā'pi tad vikhyātaṃ mahāmune ||
dvitīyaṃ nārasimhaṃ ca purāṇe padma-saṃjñite |
nandāpurāṇaṃ ca tathā tṛtīyaṃ vaiṣṇave mataṃ ||
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyāṃ purāṇe vāyu-saṃjñite |
daurvāsasaṃ pañcamaṃ ca smṛtaṃ bhāgavate sadā ||
bhaviṣye nāradoktaṃ ca sūribhiḥ kathitaṃ purā |
kāpilaṃ mānavaṃ caiva tathāivośanaseritaṃ ||
brahmāṇḍaṃ vāruṇaṃ cātha kālīkāhvayaṃ eva ca |
māheśvaraṃ tathā śāmbaṃ sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayaṃ ||
parāśaraṃ bhāgavataṃ kaurma(ṃ) cāṣṭādaśaṃ kramāt ||'

Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 65.

- 2 'ādyam sanatkumāroktam nārasimham atah param |
tṛtīyam skāṇḍam (v. l. 'nāndam' both in the Vaṅgavāsī and
Veṅkaṭ. Press editions) uddiṣṭam kumāreṇānubhāṣitaṃ ||
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyam sākṣān nandīśa-bhāṣitaṃ |
durvāsasoktam āścaryam nāradoktam atah param ||
kāpilaṃ mānavaṃ caiva tathāivośanaseritaṃ |
brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam cānyat kālīkāhvayaṃ eva ca ||
māheśvaraṃ tathā śāmbaṃ sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayaṃ |
parāśaroktam paramaṃ māricam bhārgavāhvayaṃ ||
etāny upapurāṇāni kathitāni dvijottamāḥ ||'

(*Skanda-p.* VII, i, 2, 11-15).

In the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Skanda-p.* there is no variation in readings.

14 Sāmba-purāṇa, 15 Saura, 16 Pārāśara, 17 Mārīca,
18 Bhārgava.¹

XIII. *Garuḍa-p.* I, 223, 17-20—

1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroktā), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Skānda, 4 Śiva-
dharma, 5 Durvāsasokta, 6 Nāradokta, 7 Kāpila, 8
Vāmana, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12
Kālikā, 13 Māheśvara 14 Śāmba, [15 Saura], 16 Parāśa-
rokta, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava.²

XIV. *Deī-bhāgavata* I, 3, 13-16 :—

1 Sanatkumāra, 2 Nārasimha, 3 Nāradya, 4 Śiva, 5 Dau-
rvāsasa, 6 Kāpila, 7 Mānava, 8 Auśanasa, 9 Vāruṇa, 10
Kālikā, 11 Sāmba, 12 Nandi-kṛta, 13 Saura, 14 Pārāśara-
prokta, 15 Āditya 16 Māheśvara, 17 Bhāgavata, 18
Vāsiṣṭha.³

1 ' ādyaṃ sanatkumāreṇa proktaṃ vedavidāṃ varāḥ |
dvitīyaṃ nārasimhākhyam tṛtīyaṃ nāndam eva ca ||
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyam daurvāsam pañcamam viduḥ |
ṣaṣṭhaṃ tu nāradyākhyam kāpilam saptaṃ viduḥ ||
aṣṭamaṃ mānavam proktaṃ tataś cośanaseritaṃ |
tato brahmāṇḍa-samjñam tu vāruṇākhyam tataḥ param ||
tataḥ kālipurāṇākhyam viśiṣṭam muni-puṃgavaḥ |
tato vāsiṣṭha-līṅgākhyam proktaṃ māheśvaram param ||
tataḥ sāmbarpurāṇākhyam tataḥ sauram mahādbhutam |
pārāśaram tataḥ proktaṃ mārīcākhyam tataḥ param ||
bhārgavākhyam tataḥ proktaṃ sarva-dharmārtha-sādhakam | '

Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1378.

2 ' ādyaṃ sanatkumaroaktaṃ nārasimham athāparam ||
tṛtīyaṃ skāndam uddiṣṭam kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitaṃ |
caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyam syān nandīśa-bhāṣitaṃ ||
durvāsasoktam āścaryam nāradoktam ataḥ param |
kāpilam vāmanam caiva tathaivośanaseritaṃ ||
brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam cātha kālikāhvayam eva ca ||
māheśvaram tathā sāmbaram evam sarvārtha-saṃcayam |
parāśaroktam aparām mārīcam bhārgavāhvayam || '

(*Garuḍa-p.* I, 223, 17-20 = Jivānanda's edition 215, 17-20 =
Vaṅga. ed. 227, 17-20; no v. l.).

Note that with the reading ' *evaṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam* ' (in the seventh line)
the number of the Upapurāṇas becomes seventeen and not eighteen. So, we
should read ' *sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam* ' for ' *evaṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam* .'
For the reading ' *sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam* ' of fn. 2 on p. 40 contd. on p. 41,
fn. 1 and fn. 2 on p. 42, fn. 1 on p. 43, fn. 2 on p. 44, and fn. 1 and fn. 2 on p. 45.

3 ' sanatkumaram prathamam nārasimham tataḥ param ||
nāradyam śivam caiva daurvāsasam anuttamam |
kāpilam mānavam caiva tathā cauśanasam smṛtam ||

(continued on next page)

XV. *Bṛhaddharma-p.* 25, 23-26.

- 1 Ādipurāṇa, 2 Āditya, 3 Bṛhannāradiya, 4 Nāradiya, 5 Nandikeśvarapurāṇa, 6 Bṛhannandīśvara, 7 Śāmba, 8 Kriyāyogasāra, 9 Kālikā, 10 Dharmapurāṇa, 11 Viṣṇudharmottara, 12 Śivadharmā, 13 Viṣṇudharma, 14 Vāmana, 15 Vāruṇa, 16 Nārasimha, 17 Bhārgava, 18 Bṛhaddharma. ¹

XVI. *Parāśara-upapurāṇa* :--

- 1 Ādya (Sanatkumāroktā) 2, Nārasimha, 3 Nānda, 4 Śivadharmā, 5 Daurvāsa, 6 Nāradiya, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālipurāṇa, 13 Vāsiṣṭha laiṅga, 14 Śāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Parāśara, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava. ²

XVII. 'Brahmavaivarta-p.' quoted in the *Viramītrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14—

- 1 Sanatkumāra (Ādya), 2 Nāradiya, 3 Nārasimha, 4 Śaivadharmā, 5 Daurvāsa, 6 Kāpileya, 7 Mānava, 8 Śaukra,

(continued from the previous page)

vāruṇam kālikākhyam ca śāmbam nandī-kṛtam śubham |
sauram parāśara-proktam ādityam oṭivistaram ||
māheśvaram bhāgavatam vāsiṣṭham ca savistaram |
etāny upapurāṇāni kathitāni mahātmabhiḥ ||'

(*Devī-bhāgavata* I, 3, 13-16).

- 1 ādāv ādipurāṇam syād ādityākhyam dvitīyakam |
tato bṛhannāradiyam nāradiyam tataḥ param ||
nandikeśapurāṇam ca bṛhannandīśvaram tathā |
śāmbam kriyāyogasāram kālikāhvayam eva ca ||
tato dharmapurāṇam ca viṣṇudharmottaram tathā |
śivadharmam viṣṇudharmam vāmanam vāruṇam tathā ||
nārasimham bhārgavam ca bṛhaddharmam tathottamam |
etāny upapurāṇāni sakhyāv aṣṭādaśaiva tu ||

(*Bṛhaddharma-p.* 25, 23-26).

- 2 ādyaṁ sanatkumāroktam nārasimham tataḥ param |
nāndākhyam śivadharmākhyam daurvāsam nāradyakam ||
kāpilam mānavam caiva tathā cośanaseritam |
brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam kālipurāṇākhyam tathaiḥ ca ||
vāsiṣṭham laiṅga-samjñam ca śāmbam sauram tathaiḥ ca |
parāśara-samākhyam ca mārīcam bhārgvāhvayam ||'

Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, P. 1230.

See also Haraprasad Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, ASB, Vol. V (Purāṇa Mss.), p. 762 (v. l. 'tathaiśośanaseritam' for 'tathā cośanaseritam' in line 3, and 'vāsiṣṭhalaiṅga-samjñam' for 'vāsiṣṭham laiṅga-samjñam' in line 6).

9 Vāruṇa, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Kālīpurāṇa, 12 Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga, 13 Māheśa, 14 Sāmba, 15 Saura, 16 Pārāśarya, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava. ¹

XVIII. Verses (on the Upapurāṇas) quoted anonymously in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Prasthāna-bheda*, p. 10—

1 Ādya (*sanatkumāreṇa proktaṃ*), 2 Nārasimha, 3 Nānda, 4 Śivadharmā, 5 Daurvāsa, 6 Nāradya, 7 Kāpila, 8 Mānava, 9 Uśanaserita, 10 Brahmāṇḍa, 11 Vāruṇa, 12 Kālīpurāṇa, 13 Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga (also called Māheśvara), 14 Sāmbapurāṇa, 15 Saura, 16 Pārāśara, 17 Mārīca, 18 Bhārgava. ²

1 'brahmavaivarte'pi—

ādyam sanatkumaram ca nāradyam dvitīyakam |
trītyam nārasimhākhyam śaivadharmam caturthakam ||
daurvāsam pañcamam ṣaṣṭham kāpileyam ataḥ param |
saptamam mānavam proktaṃ śaukram aṣṭamam eva ca ||
vāruṇam navamam prāhur brahmāṇḍam daśamam smṛtam |
kālipurāṇam ca tata ekādaśamam ucyate ||
vāsiṣṭha-laiṅgam dvādaśamam māheśam ca trayodaśam |
sāmbam caturdaśam proktaṃ sauram pañcadaśam smṛtam ||
pārāśaryam ṣoḍaśamam mārīcam ca tataḥ param |
aṣṭādaśam bhārgavākhyam sarva-dharma-pravartakam ||
etāny upapurāṇāni sarvavedamayāni ca || '

(*Vīramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14).

2 ādyam sanatkumāreṇa proktaṃ vedavidām varāḥ |
dvitīyam nārasimhākhyam trītyam nāndam eva ca ||
caturtham śivadharmākhyam daurvāsam pañcamam viduḥ |
ṣaṣṭham tu nāradyākhyam kāpilam saptamam viduḥ ||
aṣṭamam mānavam proktaṃ tataś cośanaseritam |
tato brahmāṇḍa-samjñam tu vāruṇākhyam tataḥ param ||
tataḥ kālipurāṇākhyam vāsiṣṭham munipuṅgavāḥ |
tato vāsiṣṭha-laiṅgākhyam proktaṃ māheśvaram param ||
tataḥ sāmbapurāṇākhyam tataḥ sauram mahādbhutam |
pārāśaram tataḥ proktaṃ mārīcākhyam tataḥ param ||
bhārgvākhyam tataḥ proktaṃ sarvadharmārthasādhakam || '

(*Prasthāna-bheda*, p. 10).

In line 7, the reading 'vāsiṣṭham' must be substituted by 'vīsiṣṭham,' otherwise the number of the Upapurāṇas becomes nineteen. This latter reading is supported by the Śivamāhātmyakhaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the *Skanda-p.*) whose verses on the titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas agree with those quoted in the *Prasthāna-bheda*.

A glance over the above lists will show how greatly divergent the lists sometimes are. Though, as will be shown afterwards, the same Upapurāṇa is in some cases mentioned in different lists under different titles, the above lists supply us with the titles of many more Upapurāṇas than eighteen.

Besides the Upapurāṇas mentioned in these lists there were many more, of which some are available in printed forms, some still exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations,¹ and some have been lost altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. In spite of the serious losses which have been brought upon the Upapurāṇa literature by the progress of time and the consequent changes of ideas, manners and customs, the Upapurāṇic works are still rich in number and contents.

Though it must be admitted that in this extensive Upapurāṇa literature there are works which are of comparatively late dates, it is by no means wise to suppose that the whole literature can scarcely lay claim to an early beginning. The verses of the *Kūrma-p.* which contain the list of 'eighteen Upapurāṇas,' are found quoted in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (I, pp. 792-3), Mitra Miśra's *Viramitrodaya* (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-15), and Hemādri's *Calurvarga-cintāmaṇi* (I, pp. 532-3 and II, i, p. 21). The titles, as occurring in this list, are also given as from the '*Kūrma-p.*' in the *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (p. 19) of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin. A list very similar to that of the *Kūrma-p.* is found in the *Saura-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.*², in *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 2, 11-15, in the *Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa* of the *Sūta-saṃhitā* (of the *Skanda-p.*), all the four *Khaṇḍas* of which have been commented on by Mādhavācārya, in the *Parāśaropapurāṇa*,³ and in

¹ From an examination of a large number of works, especially of the Sanskrit literature, I have been able to collect the names of about one hundred Upapurāṇas including those mentioned in the above lists. Questions relating to the identification, date and contents of these Upapurāṇas will be dealt with as fully as possible in their respective cases.

² Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1382.

³ Eggeling, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 1230. H. P. Shastri, *A Descriptive Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, ASB, V, p. 762 (No. 4097).

the *Garuḍa-p.* (I, 223, 17-20).¹ In his *Dānasāgara* Ballālasena refers to the lists of Upapurāṇas occurring in the *Kūrma* and the *Ādi-purāṇa*.² These and similar other evidences, which can be adduced from different sources, are perhaps sufficient to show that the date of the formation of the group of 'eighteen' Upapurāṇas as found in the *Kūrma-p.* should be placed not later than 850 A. D. The upper limit of this date seems to be supplied by *Matsya-p.* 53, which, by its mention of only those four Upapurāṇas, viz. *Nārasimha*, *Nandi*, *Sāmba*, and *Āditya*, which were well established in society,³ betrays its knowledge of a few more Upapurāṇas and at the same time its ignorance of any group of 'eighteen.' The probable date of *Matsya-p.* 53 being 550-650 A. D. and the verses (60-64), in which these four Upapurāṇas have been mentioned, appearing to be spurious,⁴ the date of forming the group should be placed approximately between 650 and 800 A. D.

¹ The extant *Garuḍa-p.* should be dated between 850 and 1000 A. D. and most probably in the tenth century. See my article on the *Garuḍa-p.* in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIX, 1938, pp. 69-75.

² Cf. '.....tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoh |
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca ||'

Dānasāgara (India Office Ms. No. 719), fol. 2^a

³ Cf. 'upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratiṣṭhitāḥ' — *Matsya-p.* 53 60a.

⁴ Verses 60-64 of *Matsya-p.* 53, which give the titles and contents of the Upapurāṇas, appear to be spurious for the following reasons:—

(i) Nothing is said about the gift of any of the Upapurāṇas though the chapter is on *dāna-dharma*;

(ii) there is no mention of the Upapurāṇas in verses other than those mentioned above;

(iii) though in the verses following verse 64 the classification and contents of the Purāṇas and the titles and extents of the epics are given, there is not even a single word on the Upapurāṇas.

These verses are, however, not very late additions; for Nārasimha Vājapeyin, who quotes all these verses except 60a in his *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, refers to Lakṣmīdhara's explanation of verse 64 (aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇaṃ etc.) as meaning the *Kālikā-purāṇa* etc. (see *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18), and Hemādri quotes verses 60b-62 and 63c-64 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, i, pp. 21-22.

The omission of these verses by Aparārka who quotes verses 3-4, 11-20, 22-25a and 26b-57a in his commentary on the *Pāñṇavalkya-smṛti*, by Ballāla-

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This approximate date of the grouping must not be taken to be the date of composition of the individual works forming the group, because all the eighteen Upapurāṇas, which do not belong to the same sect, could not have been written at the same time. The mention of the *Nārasimha*, *Nandi*, *Sāmba* and *Āditya* in *Matsya-p.* 53 shows that there were Upapurāṇas which were written much earlier than the date of formation of the group; and such formation could be possible only when, in course of time, the Upapurāṇas written attained the number of eighteen. So the age of the Upapurāṇas should begin approximately from the Gupta period.¹ Orthodox opinion is sometimes in favour of tracing the Upapurāṇas to a much earlier date.²

As to the origin of the Upapurāṇas the *Kūrma-p.*, *Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa* (of the *Sūta-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.*) and *Parāśara-upapurāṇa* record a tradition that the sages proclaimed the Upapurāṇas after listening to the eighteen Purāṇas from Vyāsa.³

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sena who quotes verses 3-4 and 11-57 in his *Dūnasāgara*, by Caṇḍeśvara who has a few verses in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, and by Govindānanda who has a few lines in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī*, should not be taken in favour of a very late date. These authors, who drew upon *Matsya-p.* 53 in connection with donation, had nothing to do with verses 60-64 in which there is no mention of donation.

¹ That this presumption is not totally baseless, we shall see when we analyse the Upapurāṇas individually.

² For instance, in connection with the Upapurāṇas Mitra Miśra says in his *Vīramitrodaya* (*Paribhāṣā-prakāśa*, p. 15) :

‘etāny upapurāṇāni purāṇebhya eva nirgatānīti
yājñavalkyena purāṇatvena saṃgrhitāni’

thus implying that the Upapurāṇas were known to Yājñavalkya.

³ Cf. *Kūrma-p.* I, 1, 16—

anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu |
aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā saṃkṣepato dvijāḥ || ;

Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa—

aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā satyavatī-sutāt |
anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu ||

(Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1378) ;

Parāśara-upapurāṇa—

evam ājñāpitās tena śivena munayaḥ purā |
śrutvā satyavatī-sūnoḥ purāṇaṃ sakalam mudā ||
anyāny upapurāṇāni cakruḥ sāratarāṇi vai |

(Eggeling, *Op. cit.*, VI, p. 1230.

Also H. P. Shastri. *A Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, ASB, Vol. V, p. 762).

This tradition, which is accepted as true by the Nibandha-writers and others,¹ assigns the Upapurāṇas to a date posterior to that of the Purāṇas and consequently to a position inferior to that of the latter. The *Matsya-p.* goes a step further when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere subsections (*upabheda*) of the Purāṇas and propounds the theory that any Purāṇic work, which will be found to be different from the eighteen Purāṇas, must be known to have originated from one or other of these Purāṇas.² The great popularity of this theory is evidenced not only by its verbal reproduction in some of the Purāṇic works themselves³ but also by the references to, or reproduction of, the lines of the *Matsya-p.* made by the Nibandhakāras and others either in explaining the origin and nature of the different Upapurāṇas in accordance with this theory or in including, among the class of Upapurāṇas, those works of Purāṇic character which were not mentioned in the lists known to the respective writers, in order that these works might be regarded as equally authoritative.⁴ The extant *Saura-p.*

¹ The entire verse,

‘ anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu |

aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā samkṣepato dvijāḥ || ’

of the *Kūrma-p.* is quoted in *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 19, *Viramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 13, and *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 532 and II, i, p. 21; whereas only the first line is quoted by Raghunandana in his *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 792 and by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary (named *Krama-saṃdarbha*) on *Bhāgavata-p.* XII, 7, 17-22.

² Cf. *Matsya-p.* 53, 60a and 64—

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratīṣṭhitāḥ |

... ..

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇaṃ yat pradīśyate |

vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgataṃ ||

³ Cf., for example, *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 2, 79b and 83—

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratīṣṭhitāḥ |

... ..

aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇaṃ yac ca dīśyate |

vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgataṃ ||

These lines agree remarkably with *Matsya-p.* 53, 60a and 64 quoted above.

⁴ The verse ‘ aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇaṃ ’ of the *Matsya-p.* (53, 64) has been quoted in Jīva Gosvāmin’s commentary (named *Krama-saṃdarbha*) on *Bhāgavata-p.* XII, 7, 17-22, in *Viramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15, in *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18, and in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 533 and II, i, p. 22. It was also perhaps quoted by Lakṣmīdhara (author of

also lends strong support to the above theory when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere supplements (*khila*) to the principal Purāṇas and attaches itself in that capacity to the *Brahma-p.*¹

Though from these evidences it is clear that the above theory is one of long standing and wide acceptance, an examination of the Upapurāṇas themselves shows that these works do not often look upon this theory with the same respect as the principal Purāṇas or other works do. In a large number of cases the Upapurāṇas are found to style themselves simply 'Purāṇas' and not 'Upapurāṇas' and to try to pass on their own merits without caring to attach themselves to any of the principal Purāṇas for the sake of authority.² In a few cases they even vie with the

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the *Kṛtya-kalpataru*), who, as known from the *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, explained the verse as referring to the *Kālikā-p.* etc. (cf. aṣṭādaśabhyas tu prthak purāṇaṃ yat tu drśyate | vijānīdhvaṃ mucī-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgataṃ || vinirgataṃ samudbhūtaṃ | yathā kālikā-purāṇādīnīti lakṣmīdharaḥ | — *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 18). On the basis of this verse Mitra Miśra even goes so far as to say that as Yājñavalkya knew that the Upapurāṇas originated from the Purāṇas he made no separate mention of the former but included them among the latter (cf. etāny upapurāṇāni purāṇebhya eva nirgatānīti yājñavalkyena purāṇatvena saṃgrhītāni. — *Vīramitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15).

See also Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Prasthāna-bheba* (p. 1) which says : ' atropapurāṇānām api purāṇe ' ntarbhāvaḥ. '

On the authority of this verse of the *Matsya-p.* the *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (pp. 18-19) and the *Vīramitrodaya* (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15) include the *Kālikā-p.*, *Vāyu-upapurāṇa*, *Devī-p.*, *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Nandikeśvara-p.*, *Ādi-p.* etc. among the Upapurāṇas.

¹ Cf. *Saura-p.* 9, 12b-13a—

khilāny upapurāṇāni yāni caktāni sūribhiḥ |
idaṃ brahmapurāṇasya khilaṃ sauram anuttamaṃ ||

Cf. also *Saura-p.* 9, 5b.

etac copapurāṇānām khilatvāl lakṣaṇaṃ smṛtaṃ.

All these three lines have been quoted in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 532; whereas only the second line is found to occur in the *Skanda-p.* (V, iii, 1, 46a, with v. l. ' sulabhaṃ sauram uttamaṃ ' for ' khilaṃ sauram anuttamaṃ '), the *Revā-māhā-tmya* (Aufrecht, *Bod. Cat.*, p. 65), and the ' *Śaiva-purāṇa* ' drawn upon in Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary *Krama-saṃdarbha* on *Bhāga-vata-p.* XII, 7, 17-22.

² For examples we may refer to the *Narasimha-p.*, *Devī-p.*, *Kālikā-p.*, etc.

principal Purāṇas by laying claim to their position.¹ It is to be noted that the older of the extant Upapurāṇas do not give any list of Upapurāṇas nor do they seem to be familiar with their common title 'Upapurāṇa' or with the theory of their origin which makes them mere suppléments to the principal Purāṇas.² This disagreement between the time-honoured theory and the actual practice of the Upapurāṇas, especially of the older ones, naturally raises doubts as to the amount of truth lying in this theory. So, in order to acquaint ourselves with the actual state of things and thus to explain successfully this contradiction between theory and practice, we shall have to investigate into the origin of the present Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

In connection with my study on the present form and character of the principal Purāṇas I have said elsewhere³ how the Purāṇa literature, which can be traced back to the Rgvedic period and was as sacred and important to the Vedic Aryans as the Vedas themselves, dealt with five subjects⁴ in its earlier, if not in its original, character, and how, in course of time, its character was changed by the Smārta Brāhman sectaries who took it

¹ For instance, in its Vāyaviya-saṃhitā (1, 41) the *Śiva-p.* lays claim to the position of a principal Purāṇa saying that the fourth Purāṇa is the *Śaiva* which consists of 12 Saṃhitās; the *Devī-bhāgavata* (I, 3, 16) includes the *Bhāgavata-p.* among the Upapurāṇas, obviously with a view to establish its own claim to the status of a Purāṇa; the '*Kālikā-p.*' claims to be the real *Bhāgavata-p.* probably because of its dealing with the exploits of Bhagavatī (see the verse of the '*Kālikā-p.*' quoted in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 531); and so on.

² For instance, see *Devī-p.*, *Narasimha-p.* and *Sāmba-p.*

³ I have dealt elaborately with the problems relating to the eighteen Purāṇas in my *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* which has recently been published by the University of Dacca. See also B. C. Mazumdar's article on the origin and character of the Purāṇa literature in *Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, *Orientalia*—Part 2, pp. 9-30.

⁴ Viz, (i) Sarga (creation), (ii) Pratisarga (re-creation i. e. the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds including the geography of the earth and the atmosphere as well as the distribution of different races on the surface of the earth), (iii) Vaṃśa (genealogy of gods and sages), (iv) Manvantara (cosmic cycles or the Manu-periods of time, i. e. those great periods each of which is reigned over by a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race), and (v) Vaṃśānucarita (the history of the royal dynasties).

up for successfully propagating their own ideas among the people who were gradually losing respect for the Vedas and the Brāhmanical rules of life and conduct under the influence of the heresies as well as of the popular systems of religion then prevailing in the country. But who among the Smārta Brāhman sectaries first set their hands to the Purāṇas ?

From a study of the historical records of ancient India as well as of the *Mahābhārata*¹ and other early works of the Sanskrit literature we understand that in the pre-Gupta days the most powerful and popular systems of religion, except the heresies, were those of the Brāhmas (i. e. Brahmā-worshippers)² the Pāñcarātras and the Pāśupatas. So it may be supposed that it was the Smārta adherents to these religious systems who first took up the Purāṇas for establishing the Varnāśramadharmā and the authority of the Vedas among the people and increased the number of the already existing Purāṇas by fresh additions of Purāṇic works often characterised by the names of the sectarian deities or their chief forms. This supposition gains ground when we see from our examination and analysis of the contents of the extant Purāṇas³ that those portions of these works which are to be dated earlier than 500 A. D. exhibit prominently the influence of the Smārta Brāhmas, Smārta Pāñcarātras and Smārta Pāśupatas.⁴

¹ In the *Mahābhārata* the Pāñcarātras and the Pāśupatas have been described. It makes no mention of the sub-sects which arose in course of time from these two mother sects.

² I shall deal with the Brahmā-sect in another place.

³ See my articles on the different Purāṇas in *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XI, 1935, pp. 108-130 and pp. 265-286, Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 683-691, and Vol. XIV, 1938, pp. 131-9; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, 1935, pp. 1-36, Vol. XVIII, 1937, pp. 265-275 and 321-337, and Vol. XIX, 1938, pp. 69-79; *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 587-614, II, pp. 235-245, III, pp. 223-9 and pp. 477-487, and IV, pp. 73-95 and pp. 415-421; and *New Indian Antiquary*, I, pp. 522-8.

⁴ For instance, the influence of Brahmā as the supreme Brahma is prominent in *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 45 (= chap. 48 in Bibl. Ind. and Jivānanda's editions) which is one of the earliest chapters of the extant *Mārkaṇḍeya* (see Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, English translation, Introduction, p. xx, and Hazra in *IHQ.* XI, 1935, pp. 108-114); the *Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa*, which preserves in it the earliest portions of the extant *Padma-p.*, was originally written, or compiled, by the Brahmā-worshippers (see Hazra in *Indian Culture*, IV, pp. 85-90); the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* are preeminently Pāśupata; the *Viṣṇu* and the extant *Kūrma-p.* in its earliest form are Pāñcarātra in character; and so on.

The next most important and powerful group of sectaries to lay their hands to the Purāṇas were the Bhāgavatas who rose to great prominence during the Gupta period. It was undoubtedly the Smārta adherents to the Bhāgavata system who wrote the *Bhāgavata-p.*

Though it is next to impossible to say definitely when the Smārta adherents to the four systems mentioned above first began to use the Purāṇas for controlling the masses who had become seriously influenced by these ¹ and other systems of religion, and what the number of the prevalent Purāṇas was when these sectaries first set their hands to them, it can scarcely be denied that more Purāṇas than one had come into existence long before the beginning of the Christian era. By its mention of a '*Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*' ² the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* shows that at the time of composition of this Sūtra work the term *Purāṇa* had become so thoroughly specialised as to have lost its proper meaning, and had become merely the designation of a particular class of books. It would have required the existence of a number of books called Purāṇas to produce that change, and manifestly they must have had their own special names to distinguish from one another, and so convert their common title *Purāṇa* into a class designation.' ³ Hence it must be admitted that the number of Purāṇas had begun to be multiplied even before the time of Āpastamba. An examination of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas shows that this growth in their number must have been accelerated by the activities of the above mentioned sectaries; and when, in course of time, their number became 'eighteen', ⁴ it was rigidly fixed.

¹ For the original nature and early spread of these systems, see my article in *IHQ*, XV, 1939, pp. 403-431.

² The term '*Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*' is self-contradicting, because the word '*purāṇa*' originally means 'ancient', and then, as a name in literature, it signifies not an ancient book but an ancient subject, *Archaica*.

³ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 50-51.

⁴ Among the numerals used for summing up a multitude of concrete objects, a line of abstract ideas, a number of traditional texts, and the like, the numeral 'eighteen' is often used in the Sanskrit, Buddhist and Jain literatures and has thus attained the position of a sacred number.

For a detailed study on this numeral see O. Stein in *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 1-37.

Here a question may be raised as to how the eighteen Purāṇas, which were the mouthpieces of sectaries following different faiths, could be grouped together and regarded as equally important and authoritative by all of them and how they came to believe deeply in this group even at the sacrifice of their respective sectarian interests. As an answer we may refer to the spirit of religious amalgamation¹ as well as that of sectarian rivalry² that went hand in hand in ancient India³ and is to be found in the Hindu society even at the present day. These spirits must have been incentives to the recasting of the same Purāṇa sometimes by different sects as well as to the interpolation of chapters on different deities in a particular Purāṇa; and in this way all the Purāṇas came to attain equal, or almost equal, importance in the eyes of the worshippers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva before the grouping had been made.

The non-inclusion of the word 'upapurāṇa' in the *Amarakośa* which defines 'Purāṇa' as 'Pañca-lakṣaṇa,' and the mention of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas in the *Viṣṇu-p.*, *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* etc. without any reference, direct or indirect, to any Upapurāṇa, tend to show that the group of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas had been formed before the Upapurāṇas came into existence.⁴ After this grouping had been complete, there came into prominence many sub-systems which arose from the main systems of religion mentioned above either directly or by identifying the local deities with one or other of the prominent deities of the main systems. In addition to these, there were also other independent systems, viz., Saura,⁵ Śākta etc. which began to hold the field and rival with the systems already established in the country. These sub-systems and independent systems also had their Smārta

¹ Cf., for example, the great influence of the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta systems as well as of the doctrine of Trimūrti on the Purāṇas.

² See, for example, *Varāha-p.*, chaps. 70 and 71, *Padma-p.* (Śṛṣṭi-kh.), chap. 17, *Līṅga-p.* I, 107, 41-42 and so on. See also my articles on the different Purāṇas as mentioned in footnote 3 on p. 55 above.

³ The present Purāṇas amply testify to both these spirits.

⁴ The tradition recorded in the *Kūrma-p.*, *Śiva-māhātmya-kh.* etc. also say that the Upapurāṇas were written by different sages after the eighteen Purāṇas had been completed by Vyāsa. (See footnote 3 on p. 51 above).

⁵ Though Sun-worship is of very ancient origin, the Saura sect, with Persian elements in the cult of the Sun, became prominent in India much later. See Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 151-3.

adherents who interpolated chapters in the Purāṇas of the already established group, and, in some cases, wrote new and independent Purāṇic works styled 'Purāṇa'¹ in order to propagate their own ideas. Thus with the progress of time the number of the Purāṇas was further increased with fresh additions. But as the followers of the famous group of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas believed deeply that there could be no 'Purāṇa' beyond the famous 'eighteen' they were unwilling to assign these new Purāṇic works to a status equal to that of the famous Purāṇas. On the other hand, these new Purāṇic works had become too well known and popular to be ignored totally. So, they introduced verses into the *Matsya-p.* to the effect that any Purāṇic work, which would be found to be different from the established eighteen, would be known to have originated from the latter. Thus, I think, the original position of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas and the rigidity of their number were maintained, and the Upapurāṇas also were given a position.

The above mentioned theory propounded and introduced into the *Matsya-p.* by the staunch believers in the 'eighteen' Purāṇas influenced not only the later Purāṇas but also the Upapurāṇas in some cases, and was the root cause of giving rise to the common title 'Upapurāṇa'² for the new Purāṇic works by calling them mere supplements (*upabheda*) of the famous eighteen. It is for this reason that these new Purāṇic works are grouped under the common title 'Upapurāṇa' in some of the extant Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and that in a few cases the new Purāṇic works are found to attach themselves as supplements to one or other of the eighteen Purāṇas³ or to call themselves 'Upapurāṇas' inspite of their independent character.⁴

¹ Note that *Matsya-p.* 53, 61 mentions 'Nandīpurāṇa' (and not 'Nandī-upapurāṇa') though the latter is called an 'upabheda,'

The *Narasimha-p.*, *Sāmba-p.*, *Devī-p.* etc. call themselves 'Purāṇa' and not 'Upapurāṇa'.

² The *Bhāgavata-p.* (XII, 7, 19 and 22) divides the Purāṇic works into two classes, (i) Alpa or Kṣullaka and (ii) Mahat. But the passage, in which this classification occurs, is of a very late date.

³ For instance, the *Saura-p.* calls itself a supplement to the 'Brahma-p.' both in the body of the work and the chapter-colophons.

⁴ See, for instance, the *Parāśara-upapurāṇa* described by Eggeling in his *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI. pp. 1229-30.

As to the contents of the Upapurāṇas the *Saura-p.* says: "A Purāṇa has five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy of gods and sages, Manu-periods of time, and history of the royal dynasties. These are the characteristics of the Purāṇas such as the *Brāhma* etc. These, again, are known to be the characteristics of the Upapurāṇas because of their supplementary character." ¹ The *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahmavaivarta-p.* also express the same opinion though from a different standpoint. Of these the former says: "According to the Purāṇa-experts, a Purāṇa must be furnished with ten characteristics, viz., *sarga*, *visarga*, *ṛtti*, *rakṣā*, *antara*, *vaṁśa*, *vaṁśānucarita*, *saṁsthā*, *hetu* and *apāśraya*, and some, O Brahman, ascribe to it five characteristics by distinguishing between 'great' and 'small' " ² The latter, which is more direct and clear and seems to follow the former in its enumeration, says that an Upapurāṇa is to have five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy of gods and sages, cosmic

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- ¹ sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca |
vaṁśānucaritaṁ caiva purāṇaṁ pañca-lakṣaṇaṁ ||
brāhmādināṁ purāṇānāṁ uktam etat tu lakṣaṇaṁ |
etac copapurāṇānāṁ khilatvāl lakṣaṇaṁ smṛtaṁ ||

Saura-p. 9, 4-5.

- ² sargo' syātha visargaś ca ṛttirakṣāntarāṇi ca |
vaṁśo vaṁśānucaritaṁ saṁsthā hetur apāśrayaḥ ||
daśabhir lakṣaṇair yuktaṁ purāṇaṁ tadvido viduḥ |
kecit pañca-vidhaṁ brahman mahad-alpa-vyavasthayaḥ ||

(The term *sarga*, *visarga*, etc. have been defined in *Bhāgavata-p.* XII, 7, 11-21).

The second verse is explained by Śrīdhara Svāmīn as : 'daśabhir etair lakṣaṇair arthair yuktaṁ mahāpurāṇaṁ viduḥ | kecit pañca-vidhaṁ | sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca | vaṁśānucaritaṁ ceti purāṇaṁ pañca-lakṣaṇaṁ || iti | mahat purāṇaṁ alpam ceti vyavasthayaḥ | yatra daśāpi lakṣaṇāni pṛthak pṛthak nirūpyante tan mahāpurāṇaṁ | yatra tv anyeṣāṁ pañcasv evāntarbhāvasya vivakṣā tad alpam iti vyavasthayaetyarthaḥ |' Viśvanātha Cakravartin also explains this verse in the same way, and even with the same words, as Śrīdhara. According to these explanations the Mahāpurāṇas must deal with the ten subjects separately, whereas in the Upapurāṇas the five topics (creation, re-creation etc.) must include the remaining five.

As regards its own contents the *Bhāgavata-p.* (II, 9, 43) says that it has ten characteristics which are enumerated, with explanation, as *sarga*, *visarga*, *sthāna*, *poṣaṇa*. *ṛtti*, *manvantara*, *śānukathā*, *nirodha*, *mukti* and *āśraya* (*Bhāgavata-p.* II, 7, 1-7). That there is practically no difference between the two lists of the ten characteristics of a Purāṇa, is shown by Śrīdhara Svāmīn in his explanation of the verses 'sargo' syātha visargaś ca' (*Bhāgavata-p.* XII, 7, 9).

cycle, and history of the royal dynasties, whereas a Mahāpurāṇa is to have ten, viz., *srṣṭi*, *visṣṭi*, *sthiti*, *pālana*, *karma-vāsanā*, *vārtā*, *pralaya-varṇana*, *mokṣa-nirūpaṇa*, *hari-kīrtana* and *deva-kīrtana*.¹ Whatever the views as regards the contents of the Upapurāṇas may be, an examination of the extant Upapurāṇas shows that very few of them conform even approximately to the above views. In spite of the great influence of the old tradition that a Purāṇa is to deal with five subjects, the Upapurāṇas, which are more exclusively adapted to suit the purposes of local cults and the religious needs of different sects than the Mahāpurāṇas and which arose at a time when the genealogies began to be neglected,² are never found to be serious about the genealogies of kings and sages. In those cases in which the Upapurāṇas include such genealogies, the ancient kings, especially of the solar and lunar races, are the chief points of interest, probably because of their giving a stamp of antiquity to these works, and nothing is said about any of the dynasties of the Kali age. Even as regards those genealogies which have been included in the Upapurāṇas, no care has been taken to preserve their correctness, but new myths and stories have been unscrupulously fabricated and attached to the important names in these genealogies. But in spite of such defects the Upapurāṇas are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion and culture, and on this head alone they deserve far more careful study than has hitherto been devoted to them. They not only afford us great insight into all phases and aspects of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy and superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies, and its ethics but also supply us with important information about the different branches of science and literature which were developed in ancient India and at the same time render us inestimable help in reconstructing some of those monumental works of

¹ *Brahmavaivarta-p.* IV, 131, 6-10.

² An examination of the extant Mahāpurāṇas shows that the custom of recording new dynastic history ceased with the early Guptas after whom no important dynasty or monarch of India has been mentioned or described in the Purāṇas. This proves that from the Gupta period the Purāṇic tradition took, in practice, a new trend which culminated in turning the Purāṇas into so many books of myths and legends and Smṛti-topics with highly imperfect, and sometimes forged, genealogical lists.

the Sanskrit literature which have been lost for ever.¹ In these respects the Upapurāṇas are sometimes more important than the Mahāpurāṇas. The latter attained such an enviable and authoritative position from an early date that they were often worked upon by the different sectaries and, in some cases, bodily replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the earlier ones.² So, the text of the extant Mahāpurāṇas which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made in different times and by different sects, is scarcely reliable and can be used only with great caution and careful discrimination. But very different is the case with the Upapurāṇas which, probably on account of their secondary position, have been worked upon much less freely by the later redactors and interpolators and have thus been able to preserve, in a few cases, their older materials along with their distinctive sectarian character. It is for this reason that among the extant Upapurāṇas there are some which are much older than many of the extant Mahāpurāṇas.³ In those cases in which the Upapurāṇas have been subjected to modifications and interpolations or have been replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the works replaced,⁴ the authors of these changes, modifications etc.

¹ In some cases the Purāṇas and the Upapurāṇas contain summaries of ancient Sanskrit works such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and more often, incorporate chapters and verses from old and authoritative works, some of which are no longer extant.

² For instance, we may refer to the present *Brahma*, *Agni*, and *Garuḍa* -p. See my articles on these Purāṇas in *Indian Culture* II, pp. 235-245, *Indian Historical Quarterly* XII, pp. 683-691, and *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* XIX, pp. 69-75. See also my 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs.'

³ I shall try to prove the truth of this statement when I shall deal with the question of chronology of the different Upapurāṇas.

The Upapurāṇas are certainly not all 'later and inferior works' as F. E. Pargiter would make us believe. (See Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, p. 455 for Pargiter's views regarding the Upapurāṇas).

⁴ The old tradition recorded in the verse

'kālenāgrahaṇam dṛṣṭvā purāṇasya tato nrpa |
vyāsa-rūpam aham kṛtvā samphaṣmī'yuge yuge ||'

was as much applicable to the Upapurāṇas as to the Mahāpurāṇas. It is for this reason that works or chapters on older rites and customs were replaced by new ones.

are very often persons belonging to those sects to which the respective Upapurāṇas originally belonged. So, inspite of their modifications, interpolations or totally new forms, they are to be valued as the records of changes undergone in different ages by the respective sects to which these works originally belonged; and the hands of people belonging to more sects than one being scarcely laid to any one of them, their study is generally a little easier than that of the extant Mahāpurāṇas.

I have already said that the Upapurāṇa literature consists of a large number of works, of which some are available in printed forms, some exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations, and some have perished altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. Of these works I shall first analyse those which have been printed and published. The Upapurāṇas still existing in manuscripts or known from references and quotations will be dealt with later on.

ON THE PROBABLE DATE OF JAIMINI AND HIS SŪTRAS

BY

Prof. G. V. DEVASTHALI, M.A.

H. P. T. College, Nasik

Jaimini, the author of the M. S., shares the fate common to all, particularly the pre-classical, Sanskrit writers and we hardly know anything about him beyond his name and the traditional account of his death at the hand of an elephant.¹ References to the name of Jaimini in ancient literature are, at best, only vague and indecisive. Thus we know of a Jaiminiya Samhitā and a Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Sāma-veda. We also find a Śrauta as well as a Grhya Sūtra ascribed to Jaimini. The Āśvalāyana and the Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtras, on the other hand, put the name of Jaimini in lists of doubtful authenticity. Thus the identity of this Jaimini with the author of the M. S. is extremely doubtful.

Nor do we get any clear reference to our Jaimini in the Mbh. or in the Buddhist or Jain literature. While the Buddhistic and Jain literature observes strict silence about Jamini, the Mbh. refers to him only as an ancient sage and not as a philosopher,² though, it must be remembered, 'it recognizes the existence of Mīmāṃsā.' Pāṇini's acquaintance with Mīmāṃsā becomes also pretty certain when we find him giving a special sūtra to the explanation of forms like 'Mīmāṃsante.'³ But strange as the name is 'it is ignored in Pāṇini and the Mahā-bhāṣya, which, however, knows of the Mīmāṃsakas, probably adherents of this school,⁴ but more probably those of the Vedānta.⁵ Patañjali, however, does show acquaintance with the mīmāṃsā term, parisamkhyā and its well-known example.⁶ The same holds good in the case of the Kalpa Sūtras. They do refer to the mīmāṃsā rules and doctrines. Thus the doctrine of Śruti being stronger than Smṛti is given by Āpastamba when he writes 'श्रुतिर्हि बलीयस्यानुमानिकादाचारात्'⁷ which may very well be compared with M. S. I. 3. 3. The familiarity which the Kalpa Sūtras show with mīmāṃsā is so great that no less a critic than Dr. Keith declares that 'they must

¹ Pt. II. 34. ² Hopkins, Great Epic of India, p. 97.

³ Aṣṭādhyāyī III. 1. 6. ⁴ Keith, KM., p. 5 n. 1. ⁵ Kane, p. 4.

⁶ Pat., vol. I, p. 5. ⁷ Ap. DS., I. 1, 4, 8.

have been composed under its influence.’¹ But even there no definite reference is made to Jaimini, the author of the M. S.

It is in the M. S. itself that we have anything like a clear and definite reference to Jaimini as a philosopher. Thus along with other authorities in the field, Jaimini is found to refer to himself in no fewer than five places.² ‘Jaimini’s views are cited in the B. S. at least ten times (I. 2. 28; I. 2. 31; I. 3. 31; III. 2. 40; III. 4. 2; III. 4. 18; III. 4. 40; IV. 3. 12; IV. 4. 5; IV. 4. 11); but only two of these viz. I. 3. 31 and III. 2. 40. can find some parallel in the M. S. VI. 1. 5 and II. 1. 14.’³ All other clear references to Jaimini, as an authority on philosophy, are to be found in works belonging to a date only posterior to that of the B. Sūtra.

Comparison of the contents of the M. S. with those of the Sūtras of other systems appears to show that the M. S. is, very probably, ‘the earliest of the six Darśanas preserved to us.’⁴ It may not, indeed be one of the earliest products of the Sūtra period,⁵ but it is not, at the same time, the latest of them all; and is, almost beyond doubt, the earliest of all the extant works expounding the six Darśanas. “The M. S. does not contain any allusion to the existence of a work dealing with the interpretation of the Upaniṣads” and is, therefore, anterior to the extant B. Sūtra.⁶

Taking into consideration all these circumstances, Dr. Keith concludes ‘that the M. S. does not date after 200 A. D.; but that it is probably not much earlier, since otherwise it would have been natural to find in the Mbh. some reference to it and its author.’⁷ Prof. Kane, however, refers to Yājñavalkya Smṛti (I. 3) which mentions mīmāṃsā as one of the fourteen Vidyās and concludes that ‘the lowest limit to which the extant Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras can be brought down is about 100 A. D.; the highest limit being about 300 B. C.’⁸ Even here Prof. Kane is not as dogmatic as Dr. Keith and accepts the possibility of the date being pushed back a few centuries even beyond 300 B. C.⁹

Now it is but well-known that Buddhism is one of the surest land-marks in the field of ancient Indian chronology and we speak of a work as being post-Buddhistic or pre-Buddhistic according as it makes or does not make a reference to Buddha

Keith, KM., p. 3. ² M. S. III. 1. 4; VI. 3. 4; VIII. 3. 7; IX. 2. 39; XII. 1. 7. ³ Kane p. 4. ⁴ Keith, KM., p. 5. ⁵ Kane, p. 4.
 op. cit., p. 5. ⁷ Keith, KM., p. 7. ⁸ Kane, p. 6. ⁹ op. cit., p. 6.

and his religion. Applying this test to the M. S. we find that for want of any reference to Buddha and his doctrines therein, the work of Jaimini will have to be labelled as pre-Buddhistic. Both Dr. Keith and Prof. Kane have marked this absence of 'any express reference to Buddhist dogma and philosophy'; but they draw no conclusion therefrom thinking possibly that no very definite conclusion can be based on this omission on the part of Jaimini, since there was no compelling occasion for him to refer to Buddhism. This view, however, does not seem to be quite sound. On the contrary, one might legitimately argue that had Buddhism had any hold on the society in the days of Jaimini, he would certainly have tried his best to attack and demolish it. The *mīmāṃsā* doctrine of *Yajña* and its reward requires the assumption of an abiding soul; and had any sort of *Kṣanikatva-vāda* been already in the field successfully engaging the attention of the people is it possible that Jaimini would have done nothing to refute it and loosen its hold on the public mind while dealing with *Dharma*? Is there anything that is more deadly opposed to *Karma-kāṇḍa* than the *kṣanikatvavāda* preached by Lord Buddha? Under these circumstances would it not be wrong to argue that Jaimini had no occasion to refer to Buddha and his doctrine? The absence of any reference to Buddhistic doctrines would thus appear to be a clear proof of the M. S. belonging to a date prior to the rise of Buddhism in India.

The truth of the above argument will be glaringly clear when we find even the *Vṛttikāra*—the earliest known exponent of the M. S.—could not help refuting some Buddhistic theory.¹ This only means that Buddhism had gained some ground at the time of the *Vṛttikāra* whereas Jaimini found it conspicuous by its absence or at any rate thoroughly negligible though present.

This conclusion regarding a pre-Buddhistic date for the M. S. is again supported by the use of the word *Buddha* by Jaimini in M. S. I. 2. 33² where the term signifies not the founder of Buddhism, but simply 'one who knows'. Had Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, been well-known in his days, Jaimini would certainly have avoided the term *Buddha* rather than use it in such a general sense thus showing himself absolutely unfamiliar with the famous Lord Buddha. It would thus appear more probable,

¹ For various views on this passage and further references vide *Jha Commentaration Volume*, p. 115ff. ² 'बुद्धशास्त्रात्'.

than not, that not only was Buddhism not already in the field at the time of Jaimini, but that even its founder had not as yet attained to the fame and glory that was destined to be his within a few years after Jaimini. The latest date, therefore, that can plausibly be given to Jaimini and his work can at the most synchronize with the earlier years of the life of Lord Buddha—then known only as prince Siddhārtha.

The relation of Jaimini's work with the Kalpa Sūtras is another fact of great importance in connection with the question regarding the date of the former. If we rely upon the interpretations of Śābara—and there is no reason why we should not—the M. S. presupposes the existence of the Kalpa Sūtras. In one *adhikaraṇa* of four sūtras Jaimini discusses the validity of the Kalpa Sūtras and concludes that they are not intrinsically valid.¹ This *adhikaraṇa* called the *Kalpasūtrāsvataḥprāmāṇyādhikaraṇa*, has led some to argue that the M. S. of Jaimini must belong to a period posterior to that of the Kalpa Sūtras. Such a conclusion, however, would not be wholly accurate. The *adhikaraṇa* referred to above merely shows that Jaimini knew of some Kalpa Sūtras; but that does not mean that Jaimini flourished only after the Kalpa Sūtra period: or that no Kalpa Sūtra was composed after him. We have, indeed, good evidence to show that a good many of these Sūtras betray the influence of the *mīmāṃsā* and also an acquaintance with the arguments which are to be found in the M. S. of Jaimini. Āpastamba, in particular, appears to show some familiarity with Jaimini and his work. Thus Āpastamba in his *Dharma Sūtra* I. 1. 4. 8 seems to be acquainted with the doctrine of Jaimini regarding the relative importance of a positive Vedic text and usage. Āpastamba I. 4. 12. 11 is almost an echo of M. S. IV. 1. 2. Āpastamba also appears to show acquaintance with the work of Jaimini in II. 6. 14. 13 which can very well be compared with the M. S. IV. 7. 30. It would thus appear that Jaimini's work presupposes the existence of some Kalpa Sūtras; and that some of the Kalpa Sūtras also, in their turn, presuppose the existence of the M. S. Paradoxical as the statement is, it can very well be explained by postulating for Jaimini's work a date which would fall somewhere in the middle of the so-called sūtra period, so that there would be nothing

¹ M. S., I. 3, 11-14.

unnatural if Jaimini shows acquaintance with the earlier Kalpa Sūtras and at the same time is seen to influence those belonging to the later part of the sūtra period.

Now we come to a point which seems to me highly important particularly because it appears to have upto now escaped the notice of all eminent scholars who have toiled to fix the date of Jaimini. I mean the relation of Jaimini with Yāska, the author of the Nirukta. 'In Nirukta VII. 5ff. we have a very interesting discussion about the form of the deities invoked at sacrifices and in Mantras and various views are put forth viz. that they have an anthropomorphic aspect or that they have no such aspect and so on. This very subject is discussed in the Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra IX. 1. 6-10, where the authoritative conclusion seems to be that the deity in a sacrifice has no corporeal form.'¹ Besides this there are two more places where both Yāska and Jaimini are dealing with one and the same topic.² A careful comparison of these passages is, indeed, at once interesting as well as instructive, for it furnishes us with an altogether new piece of evidence which helps us a good deal in fixing the date of Jaimini.

Thus Jaimini in M. S. II. 1. 1 appears to repeat the very idea which Yāska gives us in his Nirukta when he writes 'भावप्रधानमाख्यातम् ।'. And whereas Yāska shows as though he is referring to some authority while giving this definition, Jaimini appears to be self-relying. Thus we find the former introducing his definitions of Nāma and Ākhyāta by the remark 'this is generally given as the definition of a noun and a verb.'³ Jaimini on the other hand, merely defines a verb in the words 'भावार्थाः कर्मशब्दाः' which bear a very close resemblance to Yāska's 'भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्' (Nir. I. 1). Again M. S. II. 1. 2-4 appear to be an echo of the words of Yāska when he writes 'तद्यज्ञोभे भावप्रधाने भवतः पूर्वापरीक्षितं भावमाख्यातेनाच्छेदं व्रजति पचतीत्युपक्रमप्रभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तं, सृते सत्त्वभूते सत्त्वनामिर्ब्रज्या पक्तिरिति ।' Compare with these words of Yāska the following words of Jaimini, सर्वेषां भावोऽर्थ इति चेत्, येषां पचतौ स्वे प्रयोगे रूपोपलब्धस्तानि नामानि, येषां तत्पत्तावर्थे स्वे प्रयोगे न विद्यते तान्याख्यातानि.' (M. S., II. 1. 2-4).

Not even a casual reader can fail to notice the superiority of Yāska over Jaimini so far as expression is concerned. Yāska is decidedly more exact, more elegant and more impressive than

¹ Kane, p. 3. ² Nir., I. 1 ; I. 15 and 16 ; and M. S. II. 1. 1-4 ; I. 2. 31-53.

³ 'तत्रैतन्नामाख्यातयोर्लक्षणं प्रदिशन्ति ।' Nir. I. 1.

Jaimini, so much so that one is almost tempted to put down Jaimini as belonging to a date anterior to that of Yāska. Though, however, such a conclusion shall be run down as being more hypothetical than real, for want of any strong and positive evidence corroborating it, yet the fact that there are striking resemblances between Yāska and Jaimini cannot be negatived. And the only other possible conclusion that it seems possible to deduce therefrom is that both the authors are quite unfamiliar with each other and have drawn upon some common source. The conclusion that we are thus almost forced to accept is that Yāska and Jaimini show no acquaintance with one another and are almost contemporaneous. They could not have been separated from one another by several centuries as the present generally accepted theories regarding their dates require us to assume.

Now let us turn to the other pair of passages where these authors discuss another topic in common. Both Yāska as well as Jaimini mightily refute the theory of the yājñikas according to which the Vedas are devoid of any sense whatever. Yāska devotes one whole section to the *prima facie* view which he ascribes to Kautsa and then gives his refutation in a separate section altogether.¹ Jaimini also gives no less than nine Sūtras to give the refutation of the *prima facie* view and establish his Siddhānta. Comparing the statement of the *pūrvapakṣa* as given by both these writers we find that five Sūtras of Jaimini find an exact parallel in the Nirukta, of course, only so far as the sense is concerned.² Two more are condensed into one by Yāska who writes 'अनुपपन्नार्था भवन्ति ।' corresponding to Jaimini's 'अविद्यमानवचनात् ।' and 'अचेतनेऽर्थबन्धनात् ।' But the remaining two Sūtras³ from the work of Jaimini find no parallel in the Nirukta. Here once again the resemblances are so weighty that they cannot be lightly set aside. But despite the points of resemblance in general neither of the authors can be pronounced as being the borrower. And though in some cases Yāska appears to be more accurate, in one case at least Jaimini enters more into details than Yāska who has condensed two of Jaimini's Sūtras into one.⁴ It is again interesting to note Yāska's silence about two more arguments which Jaimini has put in the mouth of the *Pūrvapakṣin*. According to Yāska the *Pūrvapakṣin* is Kautsa, a pure

¹ Nir., I. 15 and 16. ² M. S., I. 2. 31-33 and 35 and 37. ³ M. S., I. 2. 34-35. ⁴ M. S., I. 2. 37-39.

orthodox Yājñika. Yāska himself also, not being a Mīmāṃsaka, did not think it worth while to incorporate into his work the arguments which were important only for a Mīmāṃsaka. Jaimini, however, being a Mīmāṃsaka could not neglect these objections which if left unrefuted were sure to be directed against the prominent dogmas of the Mīmāṃsakas. Thus Jaimini makes the Pūrvapakṣin argue that Mantras have no significance—(i) because there is no teaching of the meaning as there is of the text (of the Mantras) and (ii) because there would be connection with ephemeral things. (cf. स्वाध्यायवद्वचनाद् and अनित्यसंयोगान्मन्त्रानर्थक्यम् । M. S. I. 2. 37 and 39).

Striking as the resemblances are between the statements of the Pūrvapakṣa as given by Yāska and Jaimini, their statements of the Uttarapakṣa have very little in common. Whereas Jaimini makes his statement more technical, Yāska simply takes refuge in ordinary experience of every-day life (लौकिक). This section is, therefore, not of much use to us so far as the question of the relative chronology of the two writers is concerned.

The third pair of passages referred to above comprises M. S. IX. 1. 6-10 and Nir. VII. 6-7. Though here the topic is common yet there appear to be no resemblances of style and phraseology which might warrant us in drawing any conclusion regarding the relative dates of their authors. This may then be put down as the general outcome of the examination of parallel passages in the Nir. and the M. S. that their authors were not familiar with one another ; that they sometimes appeared to have borrowed from some common source and that they must have been almost contemporaries of each other, not separated by any wide gulf of time. If this conclusion be accurate we should be required to give to Jaimini a date which would be far anterior to what has been proposed by Dr. Keith and supported by almost all scholars. But his unfamiliarity with Yāska and vice versa, his relation with the Kalpa Sūtras, and his unfamiliarity with Buddha and his doctrines seem to me to be arguments strong enough to warrant us in putting the date of Jaimini as being at least not later than about 500 B. C. or the beginning of Buddhism in India.

But before such a conclusion can be put forth with even the slightest hope of finding acceptance among scholars there are

¹ M. S., I. 2. 31-32.

² M. S., I. 1. 34-35.

certain points which require some illucidation. It has been already noted above that though they know of the mīmāṃsakas yet neither Pāṇini nor Patañjali make any reference to Jaimini. This appears to speak for a date later than that of these two grammarians. But we may ask, does Jaimini refer to Pāṇini or Patañjali? Now if absence of references by itself is proof enough why not conclude that Jaimini is even earlier than these grammarians? The fact, however, appears to be that neither Pāṇini nor Patañjali had any occasion to make any reference to the name of Jaimini, nor had Jaimini one to do the same in the case of these grammarians. It would, therefore, be best not to lay too much premium on this absence of reference to Jaimini on the part of Pāṇini and Patañjali.

The same could be said of the so called absence of reference to Jaimini, the philosopher, in the Mbh. It is but too well known that Jaimini is not only mentioned in the Mbh. but is even credited with an edition of that work of which only one parvan (the Aśvamedhaparvan) has been preserved for us. But, it is argued, this Jaimini that is thus referred to in the Mbh. is not a philosopher but a sage and cannot therefore, be identified with the author of the M. S. Such is, indeed, the argument that makes Dr. Keith declare that the M. S. cannot be much earlier than 200 A. D. ¹ But as has been already remarked negative evidence is always shaky and can have no intrinsic value in the absence of positive corroborative evidence. The very idea, moreover, that the author of the M. S. is not mentioned in the Mbh. is swept off its legs by the fact that Jaimini is referred to as a sage and not as a philosopher in the Mbh.—a fact which again speaks perhaps for the antiquity of Jaimini.

It is a fact, admitted on all hands, that the Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its origin discussed the various details of sacrifices and a little later came to concern itself with the discussion and interpretation of several Vedic texts with a view to resolve any conflict that might arise between them. Thus Jaimini's M. S. and the views propounded by him are quite innocent of any philosophy in the real sense of the term. What wonder then that Jaimini, dealing with Dharma—and not philosophy—should be referred to as a sage and not as a philosopher? If at all then any conclusion is to be based on the evidence supplied by the Mbh. we shall have to a

¹ Keith, KM., p. 7.

admit that the Mbh. when it refers to Jaimini as a sage, rather than as a philosopher is, in fact referring to the author of the M. S. only, preaching Dharma alone without any admixture of metaphysics and other allied topics, which were literally fathered upon him by later writers who wanted to turn the Pūrvamīmāṃsā into a philosophical system in the real sense of the term and thus bring it in a line with the other Darśanas.

Reviewing the whole set of arguments, now it may be said that Jaimini makes no reference to Buddhism—the deadliest enemy of the Karma-Kāṇḍa; that such a reference was, in fact, quite pertinent as is clear from the fact that the Vṛttikāra actually went out of his way to refute some of the Buddhistic theories: that the term Buddha did not, as yet, signify the founder of Buddhism; that Jaimini and Yāska do not show any familiarity with one another though they appear to hold some views in common which are possibly drawn by either of them from some common source; that Jaimini and Kalpa Sūtras show familiarity with one another which can be explained only on the assumption that Jaimini's work belongs to the middle of the Sūtra period; that Jaimini not being mentioned by Pāṇini and Patanjali is simply due to their having no occasion for doing so; and that the Mbh. does mention Jaimini who is rightly referred to as a sage, that he really is, as he deals with Dharma, and not as a philosopher, he having scrupulously set aside the metaphysical discussions which were supplied into the system only as late as the seventh century A. D. by Prabhākara and Kumārila; and that all these arguments appear to justify the conclusion that Jaimini and his work must be at least pre-Buddhistic; and hence must belong to a date which cannot be later than about 500 B. C.

The conclusion thus deduced on the strength of the various items noted above again finds some corroboration from another quarter. That Śābara, the author of the earliest extant commentary on the M. S., is himself far removed from the author of the Sūtra is a generally accepted fact. It can also be proved by showing how a variety of interpretations—sometimes even three or four of them—is proposed for some adhikaraṇas;¹ and how even variant readings had crept into Jaimini's work by his time²

¹ M. S., IX. 2. 21-24; IX. 2. 25-28; X. 1. 1-3. ² M. S., XI. 1. 14.

and also by pointing out that Śābara was preceded by not only the Vṛttikāra and Upavaṛṣa but also by several others all of whom had written commentaries on the M. S., though unfortunately none of these has yet been found out. Dr. Keith seems to allow a period of about two centuries only between the Sūtrakāra and the Bhāṣyakāra, whom he places at about 200 A. D. and 400 A. D. respectively.¹ Prof. Kane, however, appears to be more accurate when he allows a period of four to eight centuries to elapse between Jaimini (100 A. D. to 300 B. C.) and Śābara (at least before 500 A. D.).² Nor does he seem to have any objection if this intervening period be increased by a few centuries more.²

Now the date of Śābara is again not very definitely fixed and we find Dr. Keith putting him at 400 A. D. at the earliest, and Prof. Kane asserting that Śābara wrote his Bhāṣya at least before 500 A. D. while tradition would make him the father of the founder of the Vikrama era (57 B. C.) and thus put him at about 100 B. C. Whatever may be said regarding the other details of the tradition about Śābara, at least so far as the question of date is concerned, it seems to be nearer the truth than the two eminent scholars just quoted above. Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya has given arguments leading to the conclusion that Śābara belongs to a date which is prior, not only to that of Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu, but also to that of Nāgārjuna.³ Internal evidence also appears to favour this early date for Śābara.⁶ If thus Śābara's date is fixed at about 100 B. C. and if Śābara is separated from Jaimini by four to eight centuries, as shown above, the latest date that Jaimini can be assigned to cannot be later than 500 B. C.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS ARTICLE

AP. DS.—Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.

B. S. or B. Sūtra—Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa.

Kane—A Brief Sketch of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā System By Kane P. V.

K. M.—The Karma-mīmāṃsā by Dr. A. B. Keith.

Mbh.—The Mahābhārata.

M. S.—The Mīmāṃsā-sūtra of Jaimini.

Nir.—Nirukta.

Pat.—The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali edited by Kielhorn.

Pt.—Pañcatantra.

¹ Keith, K.M., pp. 7, 9.

² Kane, p. 6.

³ Jha Commemoration

Volume, p. 124.

⁴ This I intend to show in a separate article.

CONCORD IN PRAKRIT SYNTAX

BY

A. M. GHATAGE, M. A.

Nearly all the inflectional languages give some amount of importance to the observance of concord, partly due to the law of euphony and partly due to the necessity of expressing some discursive relations which otherwise do not find adequate expression in the language. Even in Indo-European times there must have been a tendency to put words in formal agreement whenever these stood in some relation which had no special means of expression in the morphology of the language. This tendency must have given rise to the laws of congruence. Normally, it was found difficult, except by the use of concord, to express the relations that are found between a substantive and a predicate or a dependent adjective, or between a pronoun standing for a noun and its dependent adjective and sometimes even between two sentences dependent upon each other in some respects.

Concord relates mainly to such aspects as Gender, Number, Case and Person, regarding which the words must formally agree to form congruence between them. Usually the logical relations which subsist between things and their qualities, an action and its doer and other similar cases are clear enough to exclude any doubt about them. In such cases concord can be neglected or even dispensed with. But the necessity of congruence arose in the inflectional languages because they failed to give a crude and uninflected form of a word to be used and the speaker was forced to choose some form or other to express the idea. Thus if a predicate attribute was to be used it should be neutral according to the discursive relation but usually took the form of the subject because no such neutral form was available. Only the form of the Vocative of a noun can be said to approach the neutral form and even here the adjectives qualifying it assume a similar form.

As suggested by Brugmann, concord may have arisen out of the tendency to generalise such cases as words in apposition in the first instance where they were in the same case because both

served the same function in the sentence. Once this was felt as a formal agreement it may have been extended to other cases analogically. So it is natural that in a sentence like 'bhr-ātaram varuṇam āvavṛtsva' "Turn towards us Varuṇa, the brother" both the words 'brother' and 'Varuṇa' should occupy the same position in the sentence as they are, in reality, a repeated reference to the same object from different aspects. They thus show a formal agreement. From such cases the agreement was extended to cases of predicative adjective and thence to all adjectives. In this manner the aspects of Number and Gender, which are primarily applicable to substantives, were extended to cases of predicative adjective and thence to all adjectives which in their own nature cannot possess either of them. Other factors like the general tendency of assimilation must have contributed to the spread of congruence even though it is not always possible to point out its exact influence in individual cases.

The congruence with the verbal form has a different origin. According to Paul the agreement of the verb as regards Person and Number arose because of the fact that a pronoun corresponding to the subject was added to the verb to produce the inflected form which thus naturally agreed with the subject. The added pronoun sometimes served the function of the personal subject but often merely pointed out the relation with the subject through congruence.

But the ideal perfection of congruential relation between the various parts of speech in any given language can scarcely be met with. Various disturbing factors help for its break-down in individual cases or even in whole group of cases. (1) One such factor is the impression produced by the actual fact as distinguished from its grammatical expression, when both of them do not fully agree. Thus the thing may be thought of collectively even when the grammatical expression retains the plural number, which thus breaks the formal congruence. So in AMg. *abhū jīṇā atthi jīṇā aduvā vi bhavissāi* U. 2. 45. "There were Jinas, there are Jinas and there will be Jinas." Here the writer thought the subject collectively when he used the verbal forms. (2) Another such factor is the fixing up of a group of words which resist all further attempts of changing them. So, on account of the constant use of the form *atthi* at the beginning of a sentence we get expressions like. *P. natthi khandādisā dukkhā* !

Dh.202. "There are no miseries like the Khandas." Here the form of the verb persists even when followed by a subject in the plural number. (3) Sometimes an important word in the sentence disturbs the congruence. AMg. *chajjivāṇiṇi nāmaṃ ajjhayanaṃ paveiṇi* | Das. 4. "The chapter called 'The Six Groups of Living Beings' is preached." Here the predicate is attracted by the earlier word so as to make it agree with itself instead of the word *ajjhayana* with which it should formally agree. (4) Sometimes the speaker himself changes his mode of expression suddenly and the result is some kind of disagreement. AMg. *siehi asie bhikkhū āmokkhāṇe parivvāṇi* | Sut. 1. 1. 4. 13. "A pious monk should live as a man free from fetters among those who are bound with fetters, till he reaches liberation." All such examples occur at the end of the various chapters and it appears that the speaker used the form of the second person when he came to the end of the lesson because he wanted to make the whole chapter an address to his audience. (5) Sometimes the actual situation is so difficult to deal with, that the speaker is at a loss to know what should be the method of agreement and naturally takes up a third course which he thinks best in the circumstances. Thus when the subject of a sentence is a group of two nouns of which one is Masculine and the other Feminine, the verb is often put in the Neuter as the speaker found it difficult to make it agree with any one word at the expense of the other. JM. *tāhe rāyā sā ya jayahatthimmi arūḍhā* | Erz. 34.29. "Then the king and the queen mounted the victorious elephant." The more popular the language the more powerful are such agencies and the greater the effect on the concord of the language. A comparison between the rules of congruence in the Classical Sanskrit and the different Prakrits reveals the fact that these rules are often broken in the latter than in the former.

Even in the Sanskrit language itself the Vedic speech on the one hand and the Epic idiom on the other, are decidedly more flexible and admit of greater variations in the rules of concord than is the case with the Classical Sanskrit. In many such cases the Prakrits are found to agree with them more than the literary Sanskrit. Thus the Vedic language shows some cases where the Neuter plural subject is joined with a singular verb : *dhṛṣṇave dhīyate dhanā* | RV. 1.81.3. "To the bold man booties are offer-

ed." This is a regular feature of Greek syntax. In Prakrits we find this usage extended to other genders as well. AMg. *tattha je āriyā te evaṃ vayasī* : Ay. 1 4.2. "There those, who were the Āryans, spoke thus." *soccā neyāuyam laddhum bahave paribhassai* U. 3. 9. "Many, having heard the law and having practised it, again fall down from it." In all such cases the idea of collection is prominent and guides the usage.

I. THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE PREDICATE.

The agreement found between the subject and the predicate of a given sentence pertains to the number and person when the predicate is in the form of a finite verb and to number and gender when it is in the form of a verbal derivative. In the first case the verbal inflections are incapable of denoting gender while in the second the case terminations cannot express person.

The agreement in this part of concord is usually the same in Prakrits as in Sanskrit, the difference being mainly the greater freedom which Prakrit languages enjoy in not following the laws than is allowed in Sanskrit. It is, often, very difficult to assign precise reasons for this difference, but lack of greater refinement and proper care must have been one of them. But all cases cannot be explained on the mere supposition of mere lack of ability or carelessness on the part of Prakrit writers and at least in case of the vast number of illustrations in which the congruence of number is absent, we must suppose that the popular speech allowed greater freedom and latitude than was given to Sanskrit writers.

A. Agreement in Number. Normally the number of the subject and the predicate is the same. AMg. *devā vi tam namaṃsanti* : Das. 1.1. "Even the gods adore him." *bhamaro āviyai rasam* : Das. 1.2. "The bee drinks the juice." P. *rāyadūtā vidhāvantu kaḥiṃ bhikkhu gamissati* : Sn. 411. "Let the royal servants hurry to know where the monk will go." Because the dual forms are lacking in all the Prakrits, the verb is in plural with a dual subject. AMg. *do vi gacchanti sōggam* : Das. 5.1.100. "Both of them go to a good birth." JM. *varadhaṇuṇā bhaṇiyā bambhadatta-buddhila* : Erz. 12.15. "Varadhaṇu said to Bambhadatta and Buddhila." *payattā kumāra-varadhaṇū* : Erz. 12.15. "The prince and Varadhaṇu started."

This agreement holds good with the grammatical gender and number even when the actual fact may not conform with it.

When a person is spoken of in plural as a sign of respect, the predicate will be also in the plural. AMg. *tao tubbhe* (*mama tāo*) *eyamattham āikkhaha* | Ny. 1.14. "Then (O father) tell me this fact." JM. *annesiyā savvaō tubbhe na kahm ci diṭṭhā* | Erz. 15.29. "You were searched everywhere but you were not found any where." Here *tubbhe* refers to one person only.

But a real difficulty arises when the subject is not a single word either in singular or in the plural but a group of words co-ordinate with each other. Here the predicate enjoys a good deal of freedom. Thus, if the words forming the subject are joined with the particle *ca* 'and' the predicate is naturally put in the plural. AMg. *rāyāṇo rāyamccā ya...pucchanti* | Das. 6. 2. "The kings and the ministers of the king ask." *koho ya māṇo ya aniggahiyā* | Das. 8.40. "Anger and pride which are not controlled." But sometimes the other alternative, namely that the predicate should agree with one of them, usually the nearest one, is also found. JM. *pesio leho kosalliyāim ca* | Erz. 63.27. "The letter and greetings were sent." *kulam silam jāi jaso lajjā ya pariccattā* | Erz. 24.32. "Family, good conduct, birth, fame, and even shame was abandoned." *kim vā karei mama virāhe mahārāo ambā ya* | Erz. 21.10. "What is the king and my mother doing in my absence?" In the first group of cases the speaker views the things at one stretch, while in the second the thought grows slowly, making additions to the original idea which is already expressed. The rule, that the predicate should agree with the nearest subject is however not strictly followed. JM. *sampayam ca dāvaharaṇam parimoso ya kemavi kayam* | Erz. 67.19. "Just somebody took away the wealth and committed theft."

If the nouns forming the subject are joined by the disjunctive particle *vā* 'or', the predicate naturally remains in the singular. AMg. *asaṇam pāṇagaṇm vāvi udagaṇsi hojja nikkhattam* | Das. 5. 1. 59. "Either food or drink may have been thrown in water." *natthi puṇṇe va pāve vā* | Sut. 1.1.1.12. "There is neither merit nor demerit."

When the subject is made up of nouns of different numbers the verb agrees in number according to the following possibilities. (1) When the subject consists of two singular nouns joined with *ca* 'and' or any other particle like *vi* 'also', the verb is found either in the singular or in plural with nearly equal frequency. (i) Cases with the verb in the singular : P. *atha ṇam bhaṇati tāto*

ammā sarvo ca me nātigaṇavaggo | Th. 2.424. "Then my father, mother and all my relatives say." *abhiijhā ca vihesā ca cittaṃ assūpahanāti* | Th. 1.795. "Greed and vexation trouble his mind" *na me tappaccayā tattha pemaṃ doso ca hehāti* | Th. 1.719. "I will neither have affection nor hatred on account of it." *yathā jaḷo ca mugo attānaṃ dassae tathā* | Th. 1.582. "Just as a lame and a blind man might show themselves." *yassa rāgo ca doso ca māno makkho ca pātito* | Sn. 631. "Who has thrown off attachment, hatred, pride and rage." *neva devo na gandhabbo na māro saha brahmunā jetaṃ apajitam kayirā* | Dh. 115. "Neither a god nor a Gandharva nor Māra along with the Brahmā can make a conquered thing unconquered." *na taṃ mātā pitā kayirā* | Dh. 44. "Neither the mother nor the father can do it." Ap. *daṃsaṇu nānu aṇantasuhu samau na tuṭṭhai jāsu* | P-pr. 2.11. "Whose faith, knowledge and infinite bliss do not cease at once." *atthi na puṇṇu na pāu jāsu* | P-pr. 1.21. "One who has neither merit nor demerit." *atthi na ubhau jaramaṇaṇu roya vi lūga vi vanna* | P-pr. 1.69. "Who has neither birth nor old age nor death nor disease nor sex nor colour."

(ii) Cases with the verb in the plural : P. *ubho pitā ca mātā ca buddhassa upanāmayum* | Th. 1.244. "Both father and mother carried me to Buddha." *evaṃ jarā cā maccū ca āyūṃ pācenti pāṇinam* | Dh. 135. "Thus old age and death drive off the life of men." AMg. *na tassa māyā va piyā va bhāyā kalammi taṃaṃsahārā bhavanti* | U. 13.22. "Neither his brother nor mother nor father take a share of him at the time of death."

(2) When the subject consists of more than one word of different numbers the verb is usually in the plural and only occasionally in the singular. (i) Cases with the verb in the plural. As. *hidā migaviyā annāni cā hedisāni abhilaṃāni husu* | K. VIII. 22. "Here were to be found hunting and other similar pastimes." P. *rājā ca aññe ca bahū manussā avītatāṇhā maraṇaṃ upenti* | Th. 1.778. "The king and many other men die without being freed from desire." *bhātaro mahyaṃ mātā ca modanti kāmā-kāmino* | Th. 1.242. "My brothers and mother take delight, being desirous of pleasures." *tato ca devā pitaro indo asurarakkhasā adhammo iti pakkandum* | Sn. 310. Then the gods, men, Indra, the Asuras and demons cried 'O the irreligion,' AMg. *sehanti ya ṇaṃ mamāṇo māya piyā ya suyā ya bhāriyā* | Sut. 1.2.1.19. "His

father and mother, children and wife, who claim him, admonish him. " *rāyā naraseṭṭhimāhaṇā ṭhāṇā te vi cayanti dukkhiyā* । Sut. 1.2.1.5. "The king, men, merchants and Brahmans, all of them, fall, from their places, becoming miserable." JM. *so ya sattudamaṇo rāyā kumārā ya appachandenam viṇaṭṭhā* । Vas. 64.3. "King Sattudamaṇa and the princes were destroyed by their own whim." AMg. *pasubandhā savvaveyā ya jaṭṭhaṃ ca pāvakammunā na taṃ tāyanti dussīlam* । U. 25.30. "The sacrifices of animals, all the Vedas and whatever is offered by the wicked, all these do not protect a man of wicked conduct." *palenti puttā ya paī ya majjham* । U. 14.36. "My husband and sons run off." *bhajjā ya puttā vi ya nāyao ya dāyūram annaṃ apusaṅkamanti* । U. 13.25. "Wife, sons and the relative approach another protector." Ap. *satthapurāṇaī tavacaraṇu mukkhū vi karahi ki tāsū* । P-pr. "The scriptures, legends, performance, of penance even liberation, what can they do to him?" *hariharabambhu vi jīṇavara vi muṇivaravinda vi bhavva..mukkhū jī jhāyahī savva* । P-pr. 2.11. "Hari, Hara Brahmā, the Jinās, the group of sages and good people, all meditate on liberation."

(ii) Cases with the verb in the singular : P. *na tassa puttā pasavō vā khettaṃ valthum na vijjati* । Sn. 858. "Neither sons nor cattle nor wealth nor field belong to him." AMg. *jaṭṭha natthi jarā maccū vāhiṇo veyyāṇā taḥā* । U. 23.81. "Where there is neither old age nor death nor diseases nor pains."

(3) When the subject consists of many words all of which are in the plural, the verb is naturally in the plural except in exceptional cases. (i) Cases with the verb in the plural : AMg. *dārāṇi ya suyā ceva mittā ya taha bandhavā jīvantam anujīvantī* । U. 18.14. "Wives, sons, relatives and friends depend upon him as long as he lives." (ii) Cases with a verb in the singular : AMg. *daharā buddhā ya patthae* । Sut. 1.2.1.16. "Young and old may request."

Principal Exceptions to the Agreement in Number

The principal exceptions to the above rules can be grouped under various heads as follows. (1) Because the Prakrit grammar has suffered greatly in the richness of forms, many anomalies arise. Particularly in the past tense the distinction between the singular and plural is often neglected and the singular forms are used in place of the expected plural ones. AMg. *pareṇaṃ*

viñayenam te sumiṇapāḍhage evaṃ vayāsī | Ny. 1.12. "With great modesty those astrologers said as follows." But even when two distinct forms are preserved sometimes the plural form of the verb is used with a singular subject. AMg. *pantaṃ sejjāṃ seviṃsu* | Ay. 1.9.3.2. "He used a low bed." *putṭho vi nābhībhāsiṃsu* | Ay. 1.9.1.7. "Even when asked, he did not answer." (2) The verb may remain in the singular even when the subject is in the plural when it is thought of collectively. P. *puttā matthi dhaṇaṃ matthi* | Dh. 62. "I have sons and wealth," *te sabbe pi tuhyaṃ abbhantare atthi* | PR.3.25. "All of them are in your inside." AMg. *māhaṇā sapaṇā ege savvaṃ nāṇaṃ sayāṃ vae* | Sut. 1.1.2.14. "Some Brahmans and monks may claim all knowledge as belonging to them." JM. *jattha jarā-maraṇa-roga-dosū natthi* | Vas. 4.3. "Where there are not old age, death, diseases and faults." Aś. *osadhāni atata nathi* | D. 45. "Where there are no herbs." *asti pi tu ekacū samājā* | G. I. 2-3. "There are but a few assemblies." (3) Sometimes a singular subject of the first person is followed by a plural verb, which construction is frequent in some books. AMg. *ahayaṃ anuciṭṭhimō...nāhaṃ cukkimo* | Mah. Ni. "I will perform it, I will not commit mistakes." JM. *taō haṃ tāo lavāmo* | Vas. 290.28. "Then I spoke to them." *cintemi kammi paesāmmi va tāmahe* | Vas. 352.22. "I began to think, 'in what place do I find myself'?" *na me sobhai ihaṃ acchiṃ avakkamāmo tti* | Vas. 122.5. "It is not proper for me to remain here, let me go." In some cases the speaker is making a statement for himself and for those who are accompanying him. AMg. *avi yāvi citta jāṇissāmo* | Ry. 18. "Moreover, O, Citta, let us know." (4) In some cases the subject which consists of two things which in Sanskrit would normally take the dual number, takes a singular verb and not the usual plural in Prakrit. AMg. *do vi ee akvoiyā tivvaṃ soyaṃ nigacchai* | Sut. 1.1.2.18. "Both of them, being ignorant, come to suffer excessive misery." *do vi tattha nīmantaye* | Das. 5.1.38. "Both of them may call him." (5) In few cases we must admit some amount of inadvertence on the part of the writers who were misled by some adjacent word in a different number. P. (*seṭṭhī*) *te (putte) vayappatte ghara-bandhanena bandhiṃsu* | Dh. Co. 1.2. "The merchant bound those sons who had attained youth with the bond of family." JM. *sa imiē saha dhammatthaabhagga-pasaraṃ visaya-*

suhaṃ anuhaviṃsu | Sam. 407. "Along with her he enjoyed the pleasures of the senses without impeding the course of religion and wealth."

There is a group of cases which show a peculiar type of disagreement between the subject and the verb. The speaker changes his thought from one number to another while adding a second verb to the first which shows the normal agreement. The result is that the two verbs joined with the same subject show different numbers. AMg. *suddhaṃ ravai parisāe aha rahassammi dukkaḍaṃ karenti* | Sut. 1.4.1.18. "They speak well in the assembly but perform wicked acts in secret." *pakkhande jaliyaṃ joinṇe* *necchanti vantayaṃ bhottum* | Das. 2.6. "They fall even in burning fire but do not wish to take back what is vomitted." *taṃ appaṇā na gīṇhanti no ya gīṇhāvae param* | Das. 5.1.5. "They themselves do not take nor cause others to receive." *aggī cīṭṭhai Goyamā je ḍahanti sarīralthe* | U. 23.50. "There is fire in the body, O Goyama, which burns." As. *e cu hetā desaṃ pi hāpayisanti se dukataṃ kachati* | K. V. 14. "Those who make even a part of this to suffer do a bad act."

B. Agreement in Person. The subject and the finite verb normally agree as regards the person. From earliest times this agreement was observed with care on account of the radical difference between the three persons.

If the subject consisted of more than one word of different persons a definite rule is observed in choosing the persons of the verb. The plural verb is in the first person rather than in the second or third and in the second person rather than in the third AMg. (*ahaṃ ca taṃ ca*) *mā kule gandhaṇṇī homo* | Das. 2.8. "I and you, let us not become Gandhana serpents in our family" JM. *ahaṃ tumāṃ ca do vi jujjhāmo* | Kum. 53. "Let I and you both fight."

This rule, though apparently arbitrary, in giving preference to the first two persons, can be easily understood by trying to ascertain the meaning of the plural forms of the first two persons. The plural form of the first person does not simply mean the plurality of the concept expressed by the singular, as the plural of 'I' is unthinkable, but means a combination of 'I' and 'You' the first person singular and the second person singular or any other person thought of together. Jespersen calls this a plural

of approximation. Similarly the second person plural means the idea of the second person singular repeated with reference to many persons addressed or some other person to be expressed by the third person. Naturally the forms of the first and second person plural include the idea of a second and a third person in the first case and of the third person in the second. Thus it will be seen that the verbal forms in these cases exactly correspond with the combined nature of the words forming the subject and follow the rules of a very accurate concord.

Principal Exceptions to the rules of Agreement in Person.

The illustrations showing the disagreement in person cannot but be mere lapses on the part of the authors or occasioned by some special conditions. In AMg. we often find such cases as : *bhikkhū āmokkhāe parivvāejjāsī* : Sut. 1.1.4.13. "The monk should wander till he gets liberated." *neva sayāṃ daṇḍaṃ samārabhejjā nevannehiṃ daṇḍaṃ samārambhāvejjā daṇḍaṃ samārambhante vi anne na samaṇujāṇāmi jāvaṇijīvāe* : Das. 4. "He should not inflict punishment, nor cause others to inflict punishment nor consent others inflicting punishment." In all such cases which usually occur at the end of a chapter we must suppose some kind of change of thought in the mind of the writers, who try to conclude the discourse on some moral point with a direct address to the hearers, forgetting for the time being that the whole of the preceding chapter was a general statement in the third person. Some other cases of the disagreement in person are : AMg. *na tumaṃ jāṇe aṇāhassa atthaṃ potthaṃ ca patthivū* : U. 26. 16. "You do not know the meaning and import of the word 'helpless' O King," *jahū vayaṃ dhammam ajāṇamānā pāvaṃ purā kammam akūsi mohā* : U. 14. 20. "As we have done wrong acts in our former lives, not knowing the religion." P. *jarājajjaritū honti hatthapādā amassavā* : *yassa so vihatatthāmo katham dhammaṃ carissasi* : Dh. Co. 1.5. "How can he follow the religion, when he has lost his vigour and when his hand and feet are shattered by old age and incapable of hearing?"

C. Agreement in Gender. The agreement between the subject and the predicate as regards gender is not very rigidly fixed. Usually the predicate agrees with the gender of the subject whenever it is an adjective or a verbal derivative. This agreement pertains to the grammatical gender of the word only. JM.

sayameva appā vivūhūvīo | Erz. 54.10. "I myself married my self." Here the word *appā* which is grammatically Masculine refers in reality to a woman. If however the subject is a pronoun of the first or second person where there is no distinction of gender, the predicate takes the natural gender of the subject. AMg. *jāhañ teṇa pariccattā* | U. 22. 29. "That I am abandoned by him." Here *aham* refers to Rājimatī. JM. *ahañ jakkho ettha-nivāsī* | Erz. 21. 33. "I am a demi-god living here." *tao mi junṇanteurañ gayā* | Vas. 283. 16. "Then I went to the old harem." P. *ahañ sūmi etassa kapiṛajassa hadayamañsañ khāditukāmā* | PR. 1. 7. "I am, O Lord, desirous of eating the flesh of the heart of this king of monkeys."

When the subject is made up of more than one noun of different genders and the predicate is a verbal derivative which must agree with the subject in gender, we find a peculiar development in Prakrits to satisfy the demands of congruence. Even in the earliest stage of Sanskrit, there is no distinction between the animate and inanimate gender, by which, in case of animate subjects of both the genders Masculine is used and in case of inanimate things the neuter is preferred. Sanskrit, however, prefers Masculine between Masculine and Feminine and Neuter in all other cases. This position is reflected in the early stage of the various Prakrits. AMg. *kumāra doṇi purohito tassa jasā ya patti rāyattha devī kamalāvaī ya kāmagaṇe virattā* | U. 14.3-4. "Both the boys, the priest and his wife Jasā, the king and the queen Kamalāvaī, all became disgusted towards pleasures." *rāyā saha devīe nāhaṇo ya purohito | mahañ dāragā ceva savve te pariṇivvudā* | U. 14, 53. "The king along with the queen, the Brahman priest, the Brahman woman and the sons, all became liberated." *māyā ya loho ya pavaḍḍhamānā* | Das. 8. 40. "Deceit and greed growing." P. *yesaṃ rāgo ca doso ca avijjā ca virūjitā* | Th. 1. 282. "Those who have removed attachment, hatred and ignorance." *ciṇṇā aṅgū ca magadhā vajjī kāsī ca kosalā* | Th. 2, 117. "I have wandered over Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Kāśī and Kosala."

In the later stage of the Prakrits, however, it was thought better to put the predicate in the neuter gender whenever it referred to a subject consisting of both a Masculine and Feminine word. The neuter gender thus acquired the quality of a neutral

word. P. *puttadārāni posentā dhanam vindanti mānānā* | Th. 2.177. "Men acquire wealth and support sons and wives." Sometimes a compound of a masculine and a feminine noun becomes neuter. P. *tasnā silā puttadārām dhanam ca* | Th. 1.188. "Thus attached to wealth, wife and children."

In some cases, however, the predicate agrees with the nearest word. P. *silāni brahmacariyam pavvajjā dukkarā puttaka* | Th. 2. 463. "O child, rules of good conduct, celibacy and asceticism are difficult." All rules are however broken in such cases as: Aś. *etūye athāye iyaṁ lakkhite* | K. IV. "For this purpose was this edict written." JM. *tato mayā se asilatthi dāvio* | Vas. 41.15. "Then I showed him the sword."

Principal Exceptions to the Agreement in Gender. As seen above, if the subject is made up of two nouns one of which is Masculine and the other Feminine the usage of later Prakrit prefers the predicate in the Neuter plural and not in the Masculine as is the case in Sanskrit. This usage is continued in Modern Indian Languages like Marāṭhī and Gujarātī. It becomes very frequent from the stage of Jain Mahārāṣṭrī onwards. *suratūsavc samatte donṇi vi kheyālasaṅgamaṅgāi | annonabhuyāliṅgaṇasuheṇa niddam pavannāi* Pau. 16. 18. "When the sport of love was over, both of them went to sleep with their limbs exhausted with exertion and with the happiness of embracing each other." *teṇa amham pesiyam | eu vairajaṅgho sirimaṁ ya tti | mhe viuleṇa khandāvāreṇa patthiyāni puttaṁ nayare ṭhaveūṇa* | Vas. 176.15. "He sent us (a message) that Vairajaṅgha and Sirimaṁ should come. We then started with a big camp after placing the son in the town." *tao amhe pattāni kameṇa saravaṇe āvāsiyāni* | Vas. 166.21. "Then we came there in due course and lived in Saravaṇa." *pasuttāim pallavasattha e* | Sm. VI. "We slept on the bed of leaves" *ṭhiyāim egadese* | Sm. VI. "We remained in one place." *suyam ca amhāṇam āgamaṇam eehim | aś ahiyayaram lajjiyāni* | Sm. 145. "They heard of our arrival and became greatly ashamed." *tāhe rāyā sā ya jayahatthimi ārūḥhāim* | Erz. 34. 29. "Then the king and the queen mounted the victorious elephant." *teṇa tāni ammāpiyaro pucchiyāni* | Erz. 37. 29. "He asked them about his parents." (*ammāpiyaro*) *virahamahāgahagahiyāim ciṭṭhanti* | Erz. 77. 31. "The parents remain being troubled by the great devil of separation." (*rāyā devī ya*) *niyabhavaṇe gṛyāim* | Erz. 84. 6.

"The king and the queen went to their own palace." (*maṇip-paho mayanarehā ya*) *uvaviṭṭhāvaṃ tayanā* | Err. 44. 14. "Maṇip-paha and Mayaṇaraehā sat near him." Ap. *deviṇivāi romaṇciyāi* | Nk. 2.86. "The king and the queen were horripilated." *māyāsuyai amāyāi gehaho* | Nyk. 3. 9.5. "The mother and the son came back to the house." According to this usage the neuter plural of a word denotes a pair of a male and a female, while in Sanskrit it was expressed by the dual of a Masculine noun. Ap. *sari vi dovi cakkaṃ* | San. 544. 3. "In the lake a pair of Cakravāka birds." A similar usage is pointed out by Paul to exist in the old Germanic dialects where a pronoun or an adjective referring to a masculine and a feminine noun was put in the neuter gender. It appears therefore that the neuter gender is used where the difference of gender is not to be taken note of. This is also seen in some modern Indian languages where the neuter gender is used when the specific sex of a being is not known.

If the predicate is a noun it is not free to agree with the subject as regards gender and so retains its original gender. P. *app-amādo amatapadaṃ pamādo maccuno padam* | Dh. 21. "Carefulness is the place of immortality and carelessness that of death" *santutṭhi paramaṃ dhanam* | Dh. 204. "Satisfaction is the best wealth." *saddhā bījaṃ tapo vutṭhi paṇṇā me yuganaṅgalaṃ* | *hiri isā mano yottam sati me phālapācanam* | Sn. 77. "Faith is the seed, penance is the shower, intelligence is my plough, shame is the pole, mind the strap and mindfulness my ploughshare." AMg. *tavo joḷi jīvo joṭṭhāvaṃ jogā suyā sarīraṃ kārisaṅgam* | *kammehā saṅjamajogasanti homaṃ huṇāmi isiṇaṃ pasattham* | U. 12.44. "Penance is the fire, the soul the altar, the activities the laddle the body the fuel, Karma is the wood, self-control is the control of activities, thus I perform the sacrifice praised by the sages"

D. Agreement in Voice. The general rule that in the active voice the verbal form agrees with the subject and in the passive voice it agrees with the object is on the whole closely observed in Sanskrit except in case of a few past passive participles of some intransitive verbs. In the Prakrits, however we find the slow process by which the active construction has replaced the passive one though the grammatical forms remained passive. In this connection two important cases are to be considered. The

one is that of the past passive participles which are used differently than in Sanskrit. Even when they are derived from transitive verbs, they are found used in an active construction. AMg. *mukko mi visabbhakkaṇam* | U. 23. 46. "I have abandoned the eating of poison." JM. *tao gaṇaharo jambūnāmassa parisāe ya parikaḥo* | Vas. 3. 15. "Then the Gaṇadhara preached to Jambū and the assembly." *so ya kilesena ya taṃ mahilaṃ moyāvio* | Vas. 58. 4. "He freed the woman with great exertion." *dūraṃ gantūna ya sarajālaṃ pavuttho rohinisuyarahovari* | Vas. 81. 26. "Going to a distance he started to shower arrows on the chariot of the son of Rohiṇi." *bhikkhā diṇṇā diṇṇā pacāo* | Vas. 95. 6. "He ate all the alms given." *kei nārayaṃ pasamsiyā kei pavvayaṃ* | Vas. 191. 18. "Some praised Nārada and others Pavvaya." *dasaraho pavutto* | Pau. 27. 16. "Dasaraha spoke" *laṅkāhivo pavutto* | Pau. 6. 111. "The lord of Laṅkā spoke." Ap. *kai bhāni* | Nyk. 1.3.13. "The poet said." *iya muṇivi to vi paḍilaviu bhāya* | Kr. 3.5.2. "Knowing this he said to the brother." Secondly many intransitive verbs use their past passive participles actively. AMg. *tao so pahasio rāyā senio magahāhivo* | U. 20. 10. "Then Seniya, the king of Magha laughed." JM. *taṃ ca daṭṭhūna parunṇo rāyā* | Vas. 17.21. "Seeing it the king lamented." *kouhallena me jāo* | Vas. 56.20. "My curiosity arose."

There are cases as well where some kind of confusion between the two voices is to be found. JM. *paosena ya teṇa piyaraṃ bandhiūna rajjaṃ pasāsa* | Vas. 119.18. "With rage he bound his father and rules over the kingdom." (It is just possible to regard *teṇa* as a demonstrative adjective of *paosena*). Ap. *to app. arāṇa pabhanevi mahuravkhariḥ, āsaṇaṃ ti garuyāṇurūna, pucchai* | Kum. J. 29. "Then the king Appa having uttered the word 'a seat' asked with great affection"

E. Subject with More than One Verb. According to the *Sprachgefühl* of the Indians the verb or the verbal form constitutes a sentence and so when a subject is joined with more than one verb, there result in reality more than one sentence. The verbs are usually joined with some particle either conjunctive or disjunctive. But in Ap. we very often find a subject joined with more than one verb without the use of any such particle like *ca* or *api*, and the relation between the subject and the verbs is made easy to under-

stand by often putting the subject between the two verbs or verbal forms. In the early Prakrits two or more verbs were used with one subject without any conjunctive particle only when they expressed the same idea or were synonymous. AMg. *bhūvao nam kevalanāṇi sarve bhāve jāṇai pāsai* | Nandī. "As regards the modifications the omniscient teacher sees and knows all modifications." JM. *jo paḍhai sunai puriso so bohīphalaṁ samajjei* | Pau. 20. 52. "The man who studies and hears gets the fruit of enlightenment." The disjunctive particle *vā* is also absent in Apabhraṁśa. Ap. *chijjau bhijjau jāu khau joiya ehu sarīru* | P-pr. 1. 72. "O Yogin, let this body be cut or be broken or be destroyed." *vandau ṇindau paḍikamaṁ bhāu asuddhau jāsū* | P-pr. 2.66. "Let him bow or censure or perform the Pratikramaṇa, when his mind is impure." In the following illustrations the subject is put between the two verbs. Ap. *jaṇasavaṇasahu jaṇai* | *tā jīṇavaro bhaṇai* | Hp. 82. 13. 1. "Then the Jina produced delight to the ears of men and spoke." *tā ṇiyaṇāṇu payāsai, tāhā bhaḍārau bhāsai* | Hp. 82. 17. 4. "Then the great man showed his knowledge and spoke to them." *amukampai saṅkhu sāhu cavxi* | Hp. 82. 17. 4. "The sage took pity and spoke." A similar use is to be found with the participles of the past. *osāriu ṇayaru ṇivāriu* | Hp. 84. 1. 14. "He drove the people of the town away, and forbid them." *murāri ṇivāriu, halinā mantimugge saṅcāliu* | Hp. 87. 6. 3. "He controlled Murāri and brought him back to the way of deliberation." The contrary usage of joining one participle with two subjects is found in: Ap. *puṇu vi bhuyaṅgaselapavisaru kiyaū tehī kīyayaṇinṇāsaru* | Hp. 92.10.2. "Then they effected entrance into Bhuyaṅgasela and the killing of Kiyaya."

As pointed out by Alsdorf this curious construction in the Ap. language is due to the fact that the conjunctive particle *ca* is absent in this language. Other related words like *vi*, *puṇu*, connoted something more than the mere meaning of *ca* and were not used to join two simple sentences. The natural result of this fact was the putting together of two verbs or two subjects without a connecting word and in course of time the stylistic peculiarity of putting the single word between the other two connected with it arose to give facility to the understanding which it admirably performed.

II. AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SUBSTANTIVE AND THE ADJECTIVE.

On the whole the adjective agrees with the substantive on which it depends in Gender, Number and Case. The exceptions to this rule are only occasional.

When a substantive is pointed out by means of a superlative from a group of nouns usually in the Genitive and the two nouns differ in Gender, the superlative usually agrees with the noun in the nominative and not with the one in the Genitive. *P. saccam have sādutarām rasānam* | Sn. 182. "Truth is the sweetest of all flavours." AMg. *cando va tārāṇa mahāṇubhāve* | Sut. 1. 6. 19. "Just as the moon is the most lustrous among the stars." *gan-dhesu vā candanaṁ āhu setṭham* | Sut. 1. 6. 19. "As sandal is the best among the scents." *tavesu vā uttamaṁ bambhacariyam* | Sut. 1. 6. 23. "Celibacy is the best among the penances." But the older method of agreement is found in AMg. *thaniyam ca saddāṇa aṇuttare ū* | Sut. 1. 6. 10. "The thunder is the best among the sounds." Thus it is clear that attraction is the chief cause of deciding the gender of the superlative form of the adjective, even though we expect, according to meaning, that it should agree with the genitive, as all such sentences mean that one of the many is the predicate which is put in the nominative. But as the word in the genitive was not repeated in the nominative form, as being not necessary for the expression of meaning, it was found impossible to make the adjective agree with a noun which was unexpressed. The other substantive also in the nominative present in the sentence as the subject naturally attracted the adjective and ultimately came to agree with it in gender. The contrary illustrations in Prakrit are merely occasional.

The agreement of an adjective with more than one substantive is on parallel lines with the agreement of the nominal predicate with the subject. In case of adjectives, however the usual practice appears to be to make it agree with the nearest substantive. AMg. *tuhāṁ piyā surā sikhū mero ya mahūṇi ya* | U. 19. 70. "You like wine, drink, and other varieties of wine." *pāio mi jalaniṇo vasāo ruhirāṇi ya* | U. 19. 70. "I was made to drink burning fat and blood." In case of predicative adjective we find the

tendency to use only one form with reference to nouns of all genders. P. *pavivekhiyaṃ duḥkhaṃ seyyo yaṃ ca kāmamayaṃ sukhaṃ* | Th. 1. 669. "Misery due to knowledge is better than happiness due to sensual pleasures." *maranaṃ dhammikaṃ seyyo yaṃ ce jīve adhammikaṃ* | Th. 1. 670. "Death due to religion is better than life due to irreligion." *saṅgāme me mataṃ seyyo yaṃ ca jīve parājito* | Th. 1.194. "It is better for me to die on the battle field than to live with defeat." *garahā va seyyo viññūhi yaṃ ce bāl-apasaṃsaṇā* | Th. 1.668. "It is better to have censure than praise of a fool." *tasmā hi paññā va dhanena seyyo* | Th. 1.784. "Therefore knowledge is better than wealth."

The cases of disagreement can be grouped under following heads. (i) Disagreement in Gender: AMg. *teṭṭhi cittaṃantaṃ akkhaṇṇā* | Das. 4. "It is preached that fire has life." The adjective in this case is neuter even though the substantive *teṭṭhi* is feminine, probably because of the gender of the word in Sanskrit. *chaḍḍi-vanīyā nāmaṃ ajjhayanaṃ* | Das. 4. "The chapter called Six Groups of Living Beings." JM. *ihaṃ puṇa samīve girikūḍaṃ nāma gāmo* | Vas. 182.6. "Here near about there is a village called Girikūḍa." *kumbhakārāvekkho nāma paṭṭanaṃ tassa nāmena kayam* | Erz. 34.8. "A town was established after him with the name Kumbhakārāvekkho." P. *attā have jitaṃ seyo* | Dh. 104. "The self is better when conquered." Ap. *nayanaṃ honti juvāṇaḥ mud-dhao* | *tarunivayanaḍaṃsaṇarasahuddhao* | Bh. 48.8. "The eyes of the youths become deluded, being attached to the flavour of looking at the faces of the maidens." *tiṇṇi mi tāi āsi guṇavantaṃ* | *tiṇṇi mi jīnavarasāsaṇi bhattā* | Bh. 81.5. "Those three were virtuous and also devotees of the preaching of the Jina." *puri citṭhai pādaliputtu nāmu* | Kum. S. 1. "There is a town by name Pādali-putta." Aś. *ese hi seṭṭhe kammaṃ aṃ dhammānusāsanaṃ* | K. IV. "This is the best work namely to preach piety." (ii) Disagreement in Number. Cases of this disagreement are extremely rare and doubtful Ap. *dīvāṇa pahāṇhī jambudīve* | Kr. 1.3.1. "In Jambu-dvīpa the best of the continents." Even in this case it is better to admit some kind of misreading than to think of a conscious fact of disagreement. (iii) Disagreement in case. AMg. *sammasamānī pāṇāṇi biyāṇi hariyāṇi ya* | *asaṇjamakarīṃ naccā tārisiṃ parivajjae* | Das. 5.1.29. "Knowing that a woman who is trampling on living beings, seeds and green grass is devoid of self-con-

trol, one should avoid her (alms).” *pāsai jāttha kesīkumārasamane mahaimahāliyāe mahaccaparīsāe majjhagae mahayā saddenān dhammā māikkhamānam* | Ry. 19. “Where he sees monk Kesi sitting in the middle of that great assembly and preaching religion with a loud voice.”

III. AGREEMENT OF NUMERALS

The agreement of numbers is not homogeneous. All the ordinals are regarded as regular adjectives and therefore agree with the noun on which they depend in all respects. But the cardinals are not of one and the same nature. Some of them i. e. the first 19 numbers are adjectives, while those above them are regarded as substantives. They are further used collectively or distributively, which affects their agreement as regards the aspect of number, with reference to the noun and also their inherent meaning. This was caused by the supposition that the application of the category of number to a numeral may involve some kind of repetition.

The cardinal number meaning one fully agrees with the noun as regards Gender, Number and Case thus behaving like a regular adjective. By its very nature it cannot have a plural form. But this numeral includes not only the idea of ‘one’ but also that of an indefinite article which is a purely adjectival sense. In this second capacity it has a plural form meaning ‘some.’ Probably this dual nature of the numeral is the cause of its fully adjectival concord. *As. eke mrige* | M. 1.5. “One deer” *eko mago* | G. 1.11. *ekam samvaccaram* | S. 5.11. “One year.” *AMg. pāsai tam maham egam paumavarapondariyam* | Sut. 2.1.2. “He sees a big, beautiful, excellent lotus.” *māhaṇā samanā ege* | Sut. 1.1.2.14. “Some Brahmans and monks.” *JM. egāe haṁsie gabhammi* | *Erz. 1.14.* “In the womb of a goose.” *vāheṇa egeṇa ceva sareṇa viṇivāyiyā* | *Erz. 1.13.* “The hunter killed both of them with one arrow.”

The cardinals from two to eighteen are regarded as adjectives. But by the nature of their meaning they are always used in the plural. Moreover they have only one set of forms for all the three genders. *As. majura dūvi* | S. 1.3. “Two peacocks.” *do morā* | G. 1.11. *duvehi yeva ākālehi* | T. VII. “with two ākālas.” *etāni pi cu timni pānāni* | J. 1.4. “These three animals also.”

catparo rājano | G. XIII. 8. "Four kings." *pañcasu pañcasu vasesu* | K. III. 7. "In every five years." *śaṣu vi yojanasateṣu* | M. XIII. 9. "In the six hundred Yojanas." AMg. *donni vi rāyāṇo* | Nir. 26. "Both the kings." *tassa bhajja duve āsī* | U. 22. 2. "He had two wives." *jahā ya tinnī vaniyā* | U. 7.14. Just as three merchants." *tassa naṃ ānandassa gāhāvassa cattāri hiraṇṇakodhō mātāpāpattāo* | Upa. 4. "The householder Ānanda has his four crores of gold coins deposited." *eesim coddasanhaṃ mahāsumiṇāṇaṃ annayare mahāsumiṇe pāsittāṇaṃ* | Ny. 1.12. "Having seen four great dreams out of these fourteen great dreams." *aṭṭhārasaḥiṃ samaṇasahasasehiṃ saddhiṃ saṃparivude* | Ny. 5.53. "Surrounded by eighteen thousand monks." P. *dve vā tinni vā rattindivāni* | DN. 2. 327. "Two or three days and nights." *cattunnāṃ māsāṇaṃ accayena* | Sn. 99. "At the lapse of four months." *soḷasannāṃ puggalāhaṃ* | Mil. 310. "Of sixteen men."

In case of *ti* 'three' and *catu* 'four' Pali preserves two sets of forms, one for the Masculine and Neuter and the other for Feminine. But even here confusion between the two sets of forms is met with, which thus paves the way for the later development. *sakhiyo tīṇi jaṇiyo* | Th. 2. 518. "we three friends."

A similar lax use of the numerals is to be found in the Purāṇas where the form *trayaḥ* is used with words of all the three genders. *varṣāṇi bhavitā trayaḥ* | *tasya putraḥ samāḥ trayaḥ* | *bhaviṣyati samāḥ trayaḥ*. This similarity is taken by Pargiter as pointing out that the original language of these Purāṇic passages was Prakrit. It is, however, more natural to suppose that this syntactical similarity between the two is a result of the popular tendencies affecting both.

Numerals over twenty are all regarded as substantives and stand in apposition to the noun which they qualify. Their only agreement pertains to the case forms. AMg. *samaṇeṇaṃ...nāyāṇaṃ egūnavisaṃ ajjhayanā paṇṇattā* | Ny. 1.5. "The ascetic has preached 19 chapters of the Nāyas." *evaṃ khalu aṃhaṃ sāmī sumiṇasatthaṃsi bāyālisaṃ sumiṇā tisaṃ mahāsumiṇā bāvattariṃ sarvasumiṇā vidditṭhā* | Ny. 1.12. "Thus indeed, O Lord, in our science of dreams there are 42 dreams and 30 great dreams and so in all 72 dreams preached." *bhogasamatthaṃ jānittā battisāe ibbhakulabāliya āṇaṃ egadivaseṇaṃ pāṇiṇi geṇhāventi* | Ny. 5.53. "Knowing him capable of enjoyment they marry him with 32 daughters of mer-

chants on one and the same day." *eesim tīsū mahūsumiṇṇāṃ coddas mahūsumiṇe pūsillāṇam* | Ny. 1.12. "Having seen fourteen great dreams out of these 30 great dreams." *cattālīsū ajj-iyāsaḥasshiṃ saddhiṃ saṃparivude* | Ny. 5.53. "Surrounded by 40 thousand nuns." *ekkavīsū tithayarehiṃ ikkhāgākulasamuppan-nehim* | Kap. S. 33. "By the 21 Tirthakaras born in the family of the Ikkhagas." *pañcāhattarī vāsheim* | Nir. 24. "With 75 years." JM. *sattthim bhattā apasāṇe cheettā* | Erz. 34.4. "Having cut short 60 meals with fasting." P. *dasannaṃ pi dadāmi, vīsāya pi dadāmi, tiṃsāya pi dadāmi, cattārisāya pi dadāmi, paññāsāya pi dadāmi* | Sn. 86. "I give to ten, twenty, thirty, forty or to fifty." *vīsatiyā yojanesu tiṃsāga yojanesu* | M. 11.162. "At the distance of 20 or 30 yojanas." *ekūnapaññāsāya kaṇḍehi* | Jat. III. 220. "With 49 arrows." *chattimsatiyā sotehi* | Dh. Co. IV. 48. "With 36 streams" *aṭṭhacattārisaṃ vassāni* | Sn. 289. "For 48 years." *imesaṃ tevīsatiyā buddhānaṃ santike* | Dh. Co. I. 48. "Near these 23 Buddhas."

Words expressing bigger numbers like hundred thousand, etc. are also regarded as substantives and so stand in apposition to the words which they qualify. But sometimes they may be also thought of as adjectives. Aś. *yojanaśateṣu* | K. XIII. 6. "In hundred Yojans." *vassasatāni* | K. IV. 9. "Hundred years." *būhūni pānasahasāni* | K. I. 3. "Many thousand beings." P. *gan-dhabbā cha sahasāni* | Th. 164. "Sixty thousand Gandhabbas." *bhikkhuniyo sahasam* | Mhvs. 5. 187. "Thousand nuns." *pañca-satāni caṇḍālapurise* | Mhvs. 10.91. "Five hundred low-caste men." *gāthā satam* | Dh. 102. "Hundred Gāthās." *pañcasate vāṇije* | Jat. II. 123. "Five hundred merchants." AMg. *pañca sayā* | Kap. 142. "Five hundred."

In many cases the numeral remains without any inflection. P. *paññāsa yojanā sattahi yojanā* | Dh. Co. III. 217. "Fifty and sixty Yojanas." *pañcapañña vassāni...pañcavīsati vassāni* | Th. 1. 904. "Fifty five years, twenty five years." *ekūnapaññāsa jane* | Jat. III. 220. "Forty-nine people." AMg. *solasa rogāyaṅkā* | Vip. 22. "Sixteen diseases and sicknesses." *sattari vāsāi* | Kap. S. 70. "Seventy years."

Numerals over twenty being substantives, they can also govern the Genitive of the noun, P. *parosahassaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ* | Th.

Numerals also enter into compounds with the nouns. AMg. *atthasahasalakkhaṇadharo* ᳚ U. 22.5, " Possessed of eight thousand marks." *duvālasaṅgiṇo cauddasapurvviṇo samattagaṇipīḍakadhāragū* Kap. S. 2, " Knowing 12 Aṅgas, 14 Pūrvas and the whole of the Gaṇipīḍaga." P. *atthavassāṇi suttamāsāṇi rājā rājjaṇi akū, ayi* ᳚ Mhvs. 35. 46. " The king ruled for 8 years and 7 months." JM. *sirāsayāi satteva nava nhārusayā bhavē* ᳚ Erz. 4. 14. " There are 700 veins and 900 sinews." Aś. *tedasavasābhisitena* ᳚ D. V. 22, " Annointed king for thirteen years." *dasavasābhisite* ᳚ K. VIII. 22. " Annointed ten years." *sampurnmacatuvīsativaso* ᳚ OBJ. 1.1. " Having finished 24 years.

Usually the pronoun agrees with the noun in Number and Gender. But on account of the uncertain nature of the Gender of Prakrit nouns and the meagre remnants of the pronominal forms sometimes this agreement is lacking and the usage in Prakrit often disagrees with the one prevalent in Sanskrit.

A. Disagreement in Gender. Many versions of the inscriptions of Aśoka write, *ayam dhrammadipi* | S. I. "This religious edict." *ayi dhrammadipi* | M. 1. I. Others write: *iyam dhammalipi* | K. I Cp. also *yadū ayam dhammalipī likhiti* | G. I. "When this religious edict was written." *ese hi (seṭhe) kammañ* | K. IV. "This is the best duty." In AMg. we often find a neuter pronoun agreeing with a masculine noun. *Jāvanti loe pāṇā* | Das. VI 10. "All living beings in the world." *jāvantavijjāpurisū savve te dukkhasambhavā* | U. 6.1. "As many ignorant persons there are, are all born in misery." *eyāvanti savvāvanti loḡaṃsi*

kammasamārambhā | Ay. 1.1.1.5.7. "All the activities in the whole world." *āvanti keyāvantī logamsi samaṇā ya māhaṇā ya* | Ay. 1. 4. 2. 3. "The monks and Brahmans who are to be found in the whole world." *yāhi tumāhi yāhi le jānagā* | Ay. 2. 4. 1. 8. "You and your knowers." *je garahiya saṇḍiṇappaogā na tūhi sevanti sudhīradhammā* | Sut. 1. 13. 19. "Those blamable and sinful practices the pious monks do not observe." Other cases are only sporadic. *se dīṭṭhaṇ ca ñe* | Ay. 1. 4. 2. 3. "That we have seen." *se gayāhi eyāhi bhagavā* | Bhag. 15. 1. 11. "That is gone, O Lord." *appaṇaṇsi mahohaṇsi nāvā vipparidhūvā* | *jaṇsi goyamamārūḍho* | U. 23. 70. "In the great ocean there is a boat running, on which you have boarded." *jaṇsi guhāe* | Sut. 5. 1. 12. "In which cave."

If the pronoun is made to refer to more than one noun which differ in gender, it is placed in the Masculine when the words referred to are masculine and feminine. P. (*sassu sasuro ca*) *te maṇḍi pitu gharāhi pati nayiṇsu vimaṇā dukkheṇa* | Th. 2. 419. "They carried me to the house of my father with a sorrowful mind." If the pronoun refers to words including a neuter noun, it is often put in the Neuter plural. AMg. *cīrājīṇaṇi naginīṇaṇi jaḍi saṅghāḍimundāṇaṇi eyāhi vi na tāyanti* | U. 5. 21. "A bark garment, nakedness, matted hair, upper garment and shaving, all these do not protect." P. *uttīṭṭhapīṇo uccho ca psimsukūḷaṇi ca cīvaram* | *etāhi abhisambhonti* | Th. 2. 329. "Alms specially prepared (?) food collected, a garment thrown off and bark, attaining these." Sometimes the form in the Masculine is used even in such cases. AMg. *egappā aḷe sattū kaṭṭiyā indiyāhi ya te jīṇittu* | U. 23. 38. "When the self is not conquered it is an enemy and so also the senses and passions. Having conquered them."

B. Disagreement in Number. P. *tapena brahmacariyene saṇḍiyamena damena ca* | *etena barāhmaṇo holi* | Th. 1. 631. "By penance, celibacy, self-control and mortification, by these does one become a Brahman."

C. Disagreement in Case. P. *kassa sāsanaṇmāgamaṇa labhate taṇi asokaṭā* | Th. 1. "By following which law does one get the freedom from grief?"

The relative pronoun agrees with its antecedent in number and gender, but its case is determined by the clause in which it occurs. Aś. *aṇi kichi dakkhāmi hakaṇi taṇi ichāmi* | D. I. 2. "what ever I see I wish." *ye ādikare kayāṇasa se dukaraṇi karoti* | M. V. 19. "He who begins a good act does a difficult task." *yo tu etaṇi deṣaṇi pi hāpesati so dukataṇi kāṣati* | G. V. 3. "He who causes

even a part of it to decrease does a bad act." AMg. *je ya buddhā mahābhāgā...suddham tesāṃ parakkantam* | Sūt. 1. 8. 23. "Those who are enlightened and great...their activity is pure."

Mūliyaṃ te pavesanti mānusaṃ joniṃ eni je | U. 7. 19. "Those who are born as men again are those who obtain their capital." *jesiṃ tu vivutā sikkhā mūliyaṃ te acchiyā* | U. 7. 21. "Those who have much instructions have exceeded their capital." JM. *jo eyaṃ daṇḍagaṃ geṇhissai so rāyū hohi* | Erz. 37. 1. "He who will take this staff will become a king." *jaṃ jeṇa kayaṃ kammaṃ...taṃ teṇa veijavvam* | Erz. 42. 21. "Whosoever does an act will have to suffer for it." *jeṇūhaṃ haṭṭhisambhamāo rakkhīyā teṇa saha pāniggahanaṃ jai na hoi* | Erz. 17. 15. "If I cannot marry him who has protected me from the attack of the elephant." *je sappurisaṃ havanti te maraṇavasaṇaṃ bahu mannanti* | Erz. 42. 15. "Those who are great consider the calamity of death highly." *P. taṃ ca kammaṃ kataṃ sādhu yaṃ katvā nānutappati* | Dh. 68. "That act is well done by doing which a man does not repent." *yesāṃ sannicayo natthi ye pariṇātabhojanā...tesāṃ gati durannayā* | Dh. 92. "Those who have no store, and who know the measure of food, their track is difficult to find." *yassindriyāṇi samathaṃ gatāni...devā pi tassa pihayanti* | Dh. 94. "Gods honour him who controls his senses." *abbahi vata me sallāṃ yaṃ āsi hadayanassitam* | Jat. IV. 62. "He removed the dart which was rankling in my heart." *yo na hanti na ghāṭeti...veraṃ teṣa na kenaci* | Jat. IV. 71. "One who does not kill nor cause to kill is not inimical with anybody." *evaṃ kathenti ye ssaddahenti* | Th. 2. 522. "Thus tell those who believe."

There are, however, a few exceptions which go against this general rule. (i) Disagreement in Number. AMg. *acchandaṃ je na bhuñjanti na se cāi tti vuccai* | Das. 2. 2. "Those who do not enjoy because unable to do so, are not called relinquishers." *jai taṃ kāhisi bhāvaṃ jū jā daccasi nārio* | U. 22. 44. "If you love all women you chance to see." *jū ya saccā avattavvā saccāmosū ya jū musū* | *jū ya buddhehi nānīnū na taṃ bhasejja paṇṇavam* | Das. 7.2. "A wise man should not speak those words which are true but not to be spoken, those which are both true and false, those which are false and those not used by great men." *ke ettha khattā uvajoiyā vū...khalejja jo nam* | U. 1. 18. "Who are the door-keepers appointed here who will remove him?" Ap. *appā laddhau jeṇa paru te paramappa narevi* | Jos. 1. "Having saluted those highest souls who have obtained the highest self." (ii) Disagreement in

Gender. AMg. *jāe saddhāe nikkhamto tam eva anupātiyā* | Das. Ay. 1. 1. 3. "Preserving the enthusiasm with which he has become a monk." P. *jānāmi attano satta jātiyo yassāyaṃ phalaṃ vipāko* | Th. 2. 434. "I know seven of my lives whose bad effect and result is this."

The relative pronoun is neuter when it refers to a whole sentence, because the neuter gender is thought to approach the neutral form closely. P. *dubbaccanāṃ kiṃ sakka kātum yaṃ maṃ videssate bhattā* | Th. 2. 418. "Is it possible to use bad words because my husband hates me?" *tassetāṃ kammaphalaṃ yaṃ maṃ upakaritūna gacchanti* | Th. 2. 447. "This is its effect that they go abandoning me." *kaṃ te aparādhitaṃ mayā yaṃ maṃ ovariyāna tiṭṭhasi* | Th. 2. 367. "What fault have I committed against you that you stand blocking my way?" AMg. *tassa me apaḍikkantassa imaṃ eyūrisaṃ phalaṃ* | *jānamāṇo vi jaṃ dhammaṃ kāmabhogesu mucchio* | U. 13. 19. "This is the effect of my deed for which I have not repented, that even knowing religion I am attached to pleasures of senses." JM. *ajjautta sohaṇaṃ kayaṃ jaṃ so durappā nihao* | Erz. 8. 29. "O Lord, you did well in killing that wicked man."

If the predicate of a relative pronoun is a noun having a different gender from the gender of the antecedent noun, the relative pronoun agrees with the predicate rather than its antecedent. The demonstrative pronoun naturally agrees with the antecedent noun. Aś. *eṣe tu parisrave yaṃ apuṇaṃ* | G. X. 3. "That peril is sin." *e hi etrake maṅgale samsayike tam* | S. IX. 6. "For the ceremonial of this world is of doubtful efficacy." *ese hi sretthe aṃ dhrammanusāsana* | M. IV. 17. "This is the best deed, the promulgation of religion." P. *appamatto ayaṃ gandho yūyaṃ tagaracanaṃ* | Dh. 56. "Very little is this scent, the scent of sandal and aloe." *yassa bhūriyā...sīlavatī patibbatā dāresu ve soṭṭhānaṃ tadāhu* | Jāt. IV. 76. "Whose wife is endowed with good conduct and devoted to her husband, she is called the best resort among wives." AMg. *je māhaṇā jāvivijjovaveyā tāṃ tu khettā supesalāṃ* | U. 12. 13. "Those Brahmans who are endowed with birth and knowledge are the best fields."

If the sentence has more than one predicate the relative pronoun agrees with the one nearest to it. Aś. *esa hi dhammāpadāne dhammapatipati ca yā iyaṃ d yā dāne s ce socaye mad ve sūdhave ca lokasa kevaṃ vaḍhisati ti* | T. VII. "The performance of law and the belief in law are but how kindness, charity, truthfulness, cleanliness, happiness and goodness will be increasing among the people." P. *āṃ mahārāja y nīnev nāṇaṃ sā eva pañṇā* | Mil. 42. "Yes, O King, what is knowledge is intellect."

IDENTIFICATION OF UDYANA OF KAUSĀMBI WITH UDAYIN OF MAGADHA ¹

BY

Prof. H. C. SETH, M.A., Ph. D. (London)

According to the Buddhist traditions, Udayana king of Vatsas or Vamsas of Kausāmbi was a contemporary of the Buddha, and survived him.² But he must have been a very junior contemporary of the great master, as the various Indian literary traditions represent him as marrying Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota of Ujjain, and also Padmāvati, daughter of Ajātaśatru of Magadha. Padmāvati according to the drama Svapnavāsavadattā was the sister of king Darśaka, son and successor of Ajātaśatru. Now both Pradyota and Ajātaśatru were contemporaries of the Buddha, and Ajātaśatru, the father-in-law of Udayana, was himself a junior contemporary of the Buddha, whose greater part of life was spent in the reign of Ajātaśatru's father, Bimbisāra. Buddha died in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign. The traditions regarding Udayana's marriage with Padmāvati will make us believe that he survived even Ajātaśatru, as the traditions do not show the latter being alive at the time of this marriage, his son Darśaka being then on the throne of Magadha.

The Purāṇas give the following succession list of the kings on the Magadha throne.

Bimbisāra	...	...	28 years.
Ajātaśatru	...	...	25 years.
Darśaka	...	...	25 years.
Udayin	...	...	33 years.

In contrast with this we have the following succession list in the Ceylonese Buddhist Chronicles, Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa.

Bimbisāra	...	...	52.
Ajātaśatru	...	...	32.
Udaya Bhada	...	...	16.

¹ The paper was read before the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, 1940, Tirupati.

² Cambridge History of India: Vol. I. p. 187.

Divyāvadāna as well as the Burmese Buddhist traditions also place Udayi immediately after Ajātaśatru. According to the Jain traditions also Udayin is placed immediately after Ajātaśatru. The absence of the name of Darśaka in the Buddhist and the Jain lists makes us think that Darśaka was on the throne of Magadha for a short period, and not long after the death of Ajātaśatru the throne of Magadha passed on to Udayin.

The following reasons make us think that Udayin or Udaya Bhada of the Magadha list is the same as Udayana king of Vatsas or Vamsas of Kauśāmbī.

- (1) Udayin and Udayana are slight variants of the same name.
- (2) They appear to belong strictly to the same period. This is apparent from the place given to Udayin immediately after Ajātaśatru in the Buddhist and the Jain lists of the kings of Magadha. And, as discussed above, Udayana was a junior contemporary of Ajātaśatru and survived him.
- (3) Udayana in the literary traditions is regarded as a gentle, lovable and a virtuous king.¹ Udayin also, as noted by Jayaswal, "has especially been singled out by the Garga-Saṃhitā for the epithet good (चर्मात्मा)".²
- (4) In the Purāṇas Udayin is not called as the son of Darśaka. He is only mentioned as Darśaka's successor. Generally if the successor has been the son of the previous king then it has been so mentioned in the Purāṇas.
- (5) In the Matsya Purāṇa the successor of Ajātaśatru instead of being called Darśaka is called as Vamsaka :—

अजातशत्रुर्भविता सप्तविंशस्समा नृपः ।

चतुर्विंशस्समा राजा वंशकस्तु भविष्यति ॥ १० ॥

अ. २७२.

It is difficult to say whether Vamsaka is a corrupt reading for Darśaka or it represents some genuine historical

¹ The drama Svapnavāsavadattā well emphasises Udayana's virtues. For instance at one place it is remarked about him :—

स खलु गुणवान् नाम राजा य आगन्तुकेनाप्यनेनैव प्रशस्यते । Act. I.

² J. B. O. R. S. Vol. I. P. 75.

tradition.¹ Vāṃsaka recalls the Vāṃsas of Kauśāmbi.

- (6) Hiuen Tsang also mentions that Darśaka was the last king in the line of Bimbisāra.² According to this tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang Darśaka's successor Udayin must belong to some other dynasty.
- (7) Purāṇas inform us that Udayin changed his capital and founded Kusumapura. Change of capital often signifies a change of the ruling dynasty.
- (8) Literary traditions also indicate that the marriage of Udayana of Kauśāmbi with the royal family of Magadha was arranged more for political reasons. Udayana's minister Yaugandharāyana's ambition was to increase and consolidate the power of his master. This may have in course of time led to the conquest and annexation of Magadha by Udayana. Darśaka, the successor of Ajātaśatru had, perhaps, a short reign. This, as suggested above, may account for the absence of his name in the Buddhist and the Jain lists of Magadha kings.

If our surmise that Udayana conquered Magadha is correct, then, this must have taken place in the latter part of his reign. This may account for the fact that the Ceylonese Buddhist Chronicles give him under the name Udaya-Bhada only 16 years of reign against 33 years of Udayin in the Purāṇas. It may be likely that while the Purāṇas give the total period of his reign including his reign over Kauśāmbi before his conquest of Magadha, the Buddhist texts give only his reign period over Magadha after Ajātaśatru.

The subsequent traditions as recorded in the Pauranic and the Buddhist account, when put together, seem to indicate that after the death of Udayin or Udayana, Magadha again passed through a period of decay, in which there were a few short lived kings, until under Nandivardhana or according to the various Buddhist traditions Susunāga—the two appear to be identical—there was again a change of dynasty and Magadha once more rose into a first grade power.

¹ Matsya Purāṇa after Vāṃsaka gives Udasi. If Vāṃsaka represents Udayana, then Udasi, which may stand for Udayin, may have been subsequently added to bring the information in line with the other Purāṇas.

² Beal's Buddhist records of the Western World. Vol. II, p. 102.

THE SAMĀDHI-LAKṢAṆAM AND THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ

BY

H. G. NARAHARI, M.A.

A good number of imitations of the *Bhagavad-gītā* have already been taken into account.¹ The present is an attempt to point out one such imitation which does not seem to have been noticed till now. The work in question is the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*, a portion of the *Sūta-saṁhitā*, which, in its turn, is a part of the *Skānda-purāṇa*. Though the work exists in print as part of the *Sūta-saṁhitā*, it is also available independently in Mss. It is then called by different names. In the printed edition of the *Sūta-saṁhitā*,² it is called *Samādhi-nirūpanam*, while the Adyar Library Ms. (No. IX. C. 114)³ calls it the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*. Burnell mentions the third name of it when he calls it the *Samādhi-vidhiḥ* on p. 93b of his Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Tanjore Palace Library. The work is of interest to us on account of its relationship with the *Bhagavad-gītā* on which it seems to depend for the manner of narration, and, to a certain extent, for its content also. Even as Bhagavān is the narrator in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, so is Īśvara the narrator in the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*; while Bhagavān teaches Arjuna the method of the conquest of his grief (*Viśāda*), Īśvara teaches the characteristics of the yogic *samādhi*, the practice of which can bring man the highest bliss. One full stanza and eleven pādas of verses occurring in the *Bhagavad-gītā*⁴ find a place in the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*.

¹ See Dr. V. Raghavan- *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras-Vol. XII. Part I-pp. (107-22).

² *Sūta-saṁhitā* Ed. by S. Ramacandra Sastri and K. Kuppuswami Sastri, Madras (1916). pp. (244-52).

³ This is an old paper Ms. written in Telugu characters. It is incomplete and stops at the end of the third pāda of the 57th verse. The full text of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* consists of 61 verses,

⁴ The *Bhagavad-gītā* referred to here is that published in the Ananda-srama Sanskrit Series with Śaṅkara's commentary and Ānandagiri's gloss thereon. The *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* betrays no knowledge of the Kashmir recension of the *Bhagavad-gītā*.

I give their list below :—

Samādhi-lakṣaṇam

Bhagavad-gītā

1. “ ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा ” -- Verse 24d. is the same as XIII. 30d.
2. “ यदा भूतपृथग्भावमेकस्थमनुपश्यति ।
तत एव च विस्तारं ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा ॥ ”
— Verse 27. „ „ „ „ XIII. 30.
3. “ पश्यन्ऋणवन्स्पृशन्निघ्नन्नश्वन्गच्छन्स्वपन्ऽवसन् ”
— Verse 36ab is the same as V. 8cd.
4. “ प्रलपन्विसृजन्पृच्छन्नुन्मिषन्नमिषन्नपि ”
— Verse 36cd is the same as V. 9ab
5. “ सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा करोति यः ।
लिप्यते न स पापेन पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा ॥ ”
— Verse 38bcd. is the same as V. 10bcd
6. मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ”
— Verse 44d is the same as III. 13b.
7. न स भूयोऽभिजायते ”
— Verse 58d is the same as XIII. 23d.
8. “ तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु ”
— Verse 61a is the same as VIII. 27c.

Besides, a good number of verses and parts of verses are found in the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* whose character as imitations of corresponding verses or parts of verses in the *Bhagavad-gītā* cannot be doubted. The following is an exhaustive list of them.

1. Stanza 1a of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* is as follows “ अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि. ” This seems to imitate *Bhagavad-gītā*-X. 19a which reads “ हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि ”

2. The first-half of the second verse in the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* “ यदि जीवः पराङ्मिच्छः कार्यतामेति सुव्रत ” reads like “ यदि ह्यहं न वर्तेयं जातु कर्मण्यतन्द्रितः ”— *Bhagavad-gītā*-III 23ab.

3. The second-half of verse 3 of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* which runs as follows : “ नित्यः सर्वगतो ह्यात्मा कूटस्थो दोषवर्जितः ” is a clear imitation of the line “ नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ”

— *Bhagavad-gītā*-II. 24cd.

4. The first-half of verse 5 in the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* —

“यथाऽऽकाशो घटाकाशो महाकाश इतीरितः ।” resembles

“यथाऽऽकाशस्थितो नित्यं वायुः सर्वत्रगो महान् ॥”

-- *Bhagavad-gītā* IX. 6ab.

5. The following are verses 6, 7, and 8 of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*,

नाहं देहो न च प्राणो नेन्द्रियाणि तथैव च ।

न मनोऽहं न बुद्धिश्च नैव चित्तमहं कृतिः ॥

नाहं पृथ्वी न सलिलं न च वह्निर्न चानिलः ।

न चाऽऽकाशो न शब्दश्च न च स्पर्शस्तथा रसः ॥

नाहं गन्धो न रूपं च न मायाऽहं न संसृतिः ।

सदा साक्षिस्वरूपत्वाच्छिव एवास्मि केवलः ॥

These seem to be fashioned in imitation of

“नाहं प्रकाशः सर्वस्य etc., — *Bhagavad-gītā* VII. 25.

and “नाहं वेदैर्न तपसा” — *Bhagavad-gītā* XI. 53.

6. Stanza 9 ab of *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*—“इति धीर्या मुनिश्रेष्ठ सा समाधिरिहोच्यते” appears to be an imitation of “इति क्षेत्रं तथा ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं चोक्तं समासतः”

-- *Bhagavad-gītā*-XIII. 18ab.

7. “सोऽहं ब्रह्म न संसारी न मत्तोऽन्यत्कदाचन” (*Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-12ab) seems to be fashioned after the manner of “मत्तः परतरं नान्यत् किंचिदस्ति धनंजय”

-- *Bhagavad-gītā*-VII. 7ab.

8. “स समाधिः प्रकीर्तितः” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-12d.

“तामसः परिकीर्तितः” — *Bhagavad-gītā*-XVIII. 7d.

9. “अथवा योगिनां श्रेष्ठ प्रणवात्मानमीश्वरम्” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-13ab.

“अथवा योगिनामेव कुले भवति धीमताम्” — *Bhagavad-gītā*-VI. 42ab.

10. “ऋग्वेदोऽयमकाराख्यः” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* 14. a.

“अक्षराणामकारो ऽस्मि” — *Bhagavad-gītā* X. 33 a.

11. Stanzas 14-16 of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*—

ऋग्वेदोऽयमकाराख्य उकारो यजुरुच्यते ।

मकारः सामवेदाख्यो नादस्त्वार्थवर्णी श्रुतिः ॥

अकारो भगवान्ब्रह्मा तथोकारो हरिः स्वयम् ।

मकारो भगवान् रुद्रस्तथा नादस्तु कारणम् ॥

अग्रयश्च तथा लोका अवस्थावसथास्त्रयः ।

उदात्तादिस्वराः कालाश्चैते वर्णत्रयात्मकाः ॥

seem to be composed in imitation of *Bhagavad-gītā* X. (20-38).

12. “तस्मान्मत्तः पृथङ्नास्ति जगन्माया च सर्वदा” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-21ab.

“मत्तः परतरं नान्यकिञ्चिदस्ति धनंजय” — *Bhagavad-gītā* VII. 7ab.

13. “इति बुद्धिः समाधिः स्यात् समाधिरिति हि श्रुतिः”

-- *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* 21cd.

“इति क्षेत्रं तथा ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं चोक्तं समासतः”

-- *Bhagavad-gītā*- XIII 18ab.

14. “स याति परमं भावम्” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-22c.

“स याति परमां गतिम्” — *Bhagavad-gītā*-VIII 13d.

15. “तदा संपद्यते स्वयम्” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-23d.

“ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा” — *Bhagavad-gītā*-XIII. 30d.

16. “यदा सर्वाणि भूतानि स्वात्मन्येवाभिपश्यति” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-24ab.

“यदा सर्वाणि भूतानि समाधिस्थो न पश्यति” *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* 25ab.

“यदा भूतपृथग्भावमेकस्थमनुपश्यति” — *Bhagavad-gītā*-XIII. 30ab.

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः ।

तदाऽसावमृतीभूत्वा क्षेमं गच्छति पण्डितः ॥

— *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-26.

यदा सत्त्वे प्रवृद्धे तु प्रलयं याति देहभृत् ।

तदोत्तमविदां लोकानमलान्प्रतिपद्यते ॥

-- *Bhagavad-gītā*-XIV.14.

18. “यदा पश्यति चात्मानम्” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-28a.

“यः पश्यति तथाऽऽत्मानम्” — *Bhagavad-gītā*-XIII. 29c,

19. “यदा जन्मजरादुःखव्याधीनामेकभेषजम्” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-29ab.

“जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिदुःखदोषानुदर्शनम्” — *Bhagavad-gītā*-XIII. 8cd.

20. “तस्माद्विज्ञानतो मुक्तिः” — *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-30a.

“तस्माद्विज्ञानसंभूतम्” — *Bhagavad-gītā*-IV. 42a.

21. Verse 32 of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* seems to owe its inspiration to *Bhagavad-gītā*-XIII. 33. The verses are as follows :—

अत्यल्पोऽपि यथा दीपः सुमहन्नाशयेत्तमः ।
ज्ञानाभ्यासस्तथाऽल्पोऽपि महत्पापं व्यपोहति ॥

-- *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-32.

यथा प्रकाशयत्येकः कृत्स्नं लोकमिमं रविः ।
क्षेत्रं क्षेत्री तथा कृत्स्नं प्रकाशयति भारत ॥

-- *Bhagavad-gītā* XIII. 33.

22. The same is the case with verse 33 of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* which seems to owe its existence to *Bhagavad-gītā*-IV. 37.

यथा वह्निर्महादीतः शुष्कमार्द्रं च निर्दहेत् ।
तथा शुभाशुभं कर्म ज्ञानाग्निर्दहति क्षणात् ॥

-- *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-33.

यथैधांसि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसात्कुरुतेऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते तथा ॥

-- *Bhagavad-gītā*-IV. 37.

23. With verse 39 of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*--

ये द्विषन्ति महात्मानं ज्ञानवन्तं नराधमाः ।
पच्यन्ते रौरवे कल्पमेकान्ते नरके सदा ॥

Compare the following verses from the *Bhagavad-gītā*--

“ मामात्मपरदेहेषु प्रद्विषन्तोऽभ्यसूयकाः । -- *Bhagavad-gītā*-XVI.18cd

“ तानहं द्विषतः क्रूरान्संसारिणु नराधमान् ।

क्षिपाम्यजस्रमशुभानासुरीष्वेव योनिषु ॥ -- „ -- XVI. 19.

“ आसुरीं योनिमापन्ना मूढा जन्मानि जन्मानि ।

मामप्राप्यैव कौन्तेय ततो यान्त्यधमां गतिम् ॥ -- „ -- XVI. 20.

24. “ किं पुनर्ज्ञानवान्तरः ” -- *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-40d.

“ किं पुनर्ब्राह्मणाः पुण्याः ” -- *Bhagavad-gītā*-IX-33a.

25. Verse 41 of the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*--

निरपेक्षं मुनिं शान्तं निर्वैरं समदर्शिनम् ।

अनुब्रजाम्यहं नित्यं प्रयेयेत्यङ्घ्रिरेणुभिः ॥

seems to have been inspired by

अनपेक्षः शुचिर्दक्ष उदासीनो गतव्यथः ।

सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी यो मद्भक्तः स मे प्रियः ॥

-- *Bhagavad-gītā*-XII. 16.

26. “यास्यामः परमां गतिम्” -- *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-43d.
 “स याति परमां गतिम्” -- *Bhagavad-gītā*-VIII. 13d.
 27. “बहुनोक्तेन किं सर्वं संग्रहेणोपपादितम्” -- *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-49ab.
 “अथवा बहुनैतेन किं ज्ञानेन तवार्जुन” -- *Bhagavad-gītā*-X. 42ab.
 28. “य इमं ज्ञानयोगाख्यं खण्डं श्रद्धापुरस्सरम्” -- *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam*-
 58 ab.
 “य इमं परमं गुह्यं मद्भक्तैश्चमिधास्यति” -- *Bhagavad-gītā*-XVIII.
 68 ab.

It is thus clear that, for nearly half of its contents, the *Samādhi-lakṣaṇam* is indebted to the *Bhagavad-gītā* which it seems to regard as the very fountain-head of all its inspiration.

MAITHILI EQUIVALENTS TO VERNACULAR WORDS
FOUND IN SARVANANDA'S COMMENTARY ON
AMARAKOŚA

BY

SUBHADRA JHA, M. A.

The name of the commentary is *Tikāsarvasva* and was published with the text of *Amarakośa* in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series by the late M. M. Pt. T. Ganapati Sastri in 1911-17. The work was first noticed by the late M. M. Pt. Haraprasad Sastri, in a Ms., in the "Report of the Search for Tamil and Sanskrit Manuscripts to the Government of Madras" for the year 1993-4, no. 2 p. 335. On an examination of the text it was found that it contained about 300 words of the NIA languages. In 1919, Mr. Basant Ranjan Rai published them in alphabetical order with Bengali equivalents to many of them in the *Bangiya Sāhitya Parisad Patrikā*, Vol. XXVI, Part 2. Mr. Jogesh Chandra Rai in the same issue of the paper added some philological notes to most of such words. It was in 1926, that Mr. N. P. Chakravarti, in the *Journal Asiatique*, published them in order they occur in the book with Bengali and Hindi equivalents to many of them. He pleaded inability to supply Maithili equivalents.

Now it is the purpose of this paper to give Maithili equivalents to Sarvananda's Vernacular words as far as possible. It will be seen that many of these words which could not have their corresponding forms traced in Bengali and Hindi have equivalents in Maithili. A study of these may help in tracing the linguistic development of the two neighbouring dialects, namely Bengali and Maithili. The list of words is not exhaustive as those whose equivalents have not found as yet are left. A further study in Maithili Lexicography may perhaps reduce the number of such words. This paper should be treated as a supplement to the works of the three former writers mentioned above. It is moreover interesting to note that there are several words whose equivalents are found in certain Maithili dialects while some other words have their corresponding forms found in early Maithili only.

Abbreviations :—

- D. E. found in the Eastern Maithili Dialect.
 D. W. " " Western " "
 M. " " Mukunda Jhā's translation of Amarakośa.
 U. C. " by Dr. Umesa Misra in Caṇḍeśvara.
 U. J. " " " Jagaddhara, (J.B.O.RS. for 1928, pp. 266.)
 U. R. " " " Rucipati.
 V. V. " in Vivādacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati.
 V. R. " in Varṇarātnākara of Jyotirīśvara. (Patna College copy of the Ms.)
 Vid. " Padāvali of Vidyāpati. (Basumati Press, edition.)

Sarvānan- da's words	Early and Modern Maithili	Sources of the Maithili equivalents	Sanskrit Equivalents	English Translation	Sarvānanda's Kāṇḍa, Varga and Sloka
अन्धी	अन्हारी		अन्धकः	An eye- disease	III, 5, 34
अम्बाड	अमडा		आम्नातकः	The hog- palm	II, 4, 27
अरड	अरड खहड़		?	Precipice	II, 3, 3
अलाध	अलाध दराध	D. W.	अलगर्धः	A water- snake	I, 8, 5
अवगलुच	बकुची	M. p. 96	अवगलुजः	A herb	II, 4, 95
आह	अड्डी	M. p. 236	?	Bet	II, 10, 43
उच्चड	उच्चाड़		उच्चटी	Name of a kind of grass	II, 4, 160
ओडी	ओडरी अडरी	M. 204 U. R.	?	Rice grow- ing wild	II, 9, 25
ओराश	ओरास	D. W.	?	Breadth	II, 4, 45
ओह	ओल		?	A kind of vegetable	II, 4, 157
ओहाली	ओहारी	V. p. 97	?	End of a thatched roof	II, 2, 14

Sarvānanda's words	Early and Modern Maithili	Sources of the Maithili Equivalents	Sanskrit Equivalents	English Translation	Sarvānanda's Kāṇḍa, Varga and Sloka
कण्टभाल	कटहर		कण्टकिफलम्	Jack fruit	II, 4, 61
कयरा	काकोर		कर्कटः	Crab	II, 5, 19
करन्द	करओना		करमर्दनः	A kind of fruit	II, 4, 67
करवेल	करैल		कारवेल्लः	A vegetable fruit with pungent taste	II, 4, 154
कर्णहार	कर्णहार	V. R. p. 97	कर्णधारः	Helmsman	I, 10, 11
कलिआर	कण्ठहार कनैल कनिअरा	V. R. p. 8	कर्णिकारः	Name of a flower tree	II, 4, 60
काउओडोटी	कौआडुड्डी	M. p. 101	?	Name of a herb	II, 4, 119
काङ्कुरेडु	करकटिआ	M. p. 117	कर्करेडुः	Name of a bird	II, 5, 19
काठाइठा	कठैठा	D. E.	मकुष्ठः	Name of a kind of grain	II, 9, 17
काण्टोकी	कण्टोकी		?	The wood-pecker	II, 5, 16
कानाजुन्ती	कनगाजर	M. 115	कर्णजलौका	A small centipede	II, 5, 13
काफल	काफर		कद्रफलम्	Name of a tree and its fruit	II, 4, 40
कामण	काउन		कङ्कुः	Name of a kind of grain	II, 9, 20
कुटिज	कोरैआ	M. p. 90	कुटजः	Name of a tree and its fruit	II, 4, 66
कुडुआ	कुरुआ		कुतुपः	A leather bucket	II, 9, 33
कुरला कोइलखा	(वन) कुररी कोइलखा	M. p. 118	कुरर; कोकिलाक्षः	An osprey Name of a herb	II, 5, 23 II, 4, 104
कोहु कोण्ड	कोदि कोदैआ	M. p. 121	कुष्ठः कायाष्टिकः	Leprosy The lap-wing	II, 6, 154 II, 5, 35

Sarvānanda's words	Early and Modern Maithili	Sources of the Maithili Equivalents	Sanskrit Equivalents	English Translation	Sarvānanda's Kāṇḍa, Varga and Śloka
खइरी	खैरी		खादिरि	Name of a thorny plant	II, 4, 141
खिरिस	खिरसा		क्षीर—	Acidified milk	II, 9, 44
खोप्यक	खोदा		?	Braid of hair	II, 6, 97
ख्यावि गमडी	गड़खइ बगड़ा	M. p. 60 M. p. 117	खेयम् ?	A ditch The spar-row	I, 10, 28 II, 5, 18
गुणरुत्थ	गुनवाह	M. p. 56		The pilot of a boat	I, 10, 12
गवेधुक	गरड़ो	M. p. 204	गवेधुः	Name of a tree and its fruit	II, 9, 25
गान्धउड	अन्हौडी (गेलहा)		गर्दमाण्डः	Name of a tree and its fruit	II, 4, 43
घाघरी घाडू	घुघरू, धर्घरी घाड़	U. C.	घण्टिका ? घाटा	Small bells Back of the neck	II, 6, 10 II, 6, 88
घिबी घोल चातिपन्न	घी or तेल घोर, घोल छतिबन	U. C.	? सप्तपर्णः	Brain Whey Name of a tree	II, 6, 65 II, 9, 53 II, 4, 23
चाल चिड चिरायित	चार चूड़ा, चिडला चिरैता	V. R. p. 75	चाल— चिपीटकः किराततिकः	Thatch Flat rice Name of a herb	II, 2, 10 II, 9, 49 II, 4, 143
चिल्ली छन्दवार	झिल्ली छानबला	D. W.	झिल्लिः ?	A Cricket A person who cooks a particular kind of food	II, 5, 28 II, 9, 28
जल	जर	M. p. 132	जरायुः	The outer skin of the embryo	II, 6, 38
जाडी	झाड़ी		अलअरः ?	A particular kind of water-pot	II, 9, 31

Sarvānanda's words	Early and Modern Maithili	Sources of the Maithili Equivalents	Sanskrit Equivalents	English Translation	Sarvānanda's Kāṇḍa, Varga and Śloka
जाव	जा*		यावृ-	Husband's brother's wife	II, 6, 30
जुमाळ जोङ्गडी	जुआठ गोङ्गन्ना जाङ्ग	V. R. p. 60	युगकाष्टम् ?	Yoke A small shell	II, 9, 64 I, 10, 22
ज्यौलङ्गिनी झंपाण झावुल	(भग) जोगनी झम्पान झौआ	D. W.	ज्योतिरिङ्गणः ? झाडुकः	Firefly Palanquin Name of a tree	II, 5, 34 II, 8, 53 II, 4, 40
डहुआ	डहुआ	D. W.	डहः	Name of a tree	II, 4, 60
डाउक or डाढकाक	डाहुकि	Vid. p. 195	डाहुकः	A gallinule	II, 5, 21
दाश डौढ	डाँस डौंद	Vid. p. 66	दंशः ?	A gad-fly An innocent snake	II, 5, 27 I, 8, 5
ढेका	ढेक	M. p. 116	?	Name of a bird	II, 5, 22
ताटङ्ग	तड्की		ताटङ्कः	A large ear-ring	II, 6, 103
ताल	डारि		लता	Branch of a tree	II, 4, 11
तिन्तली तिल	तेतारि तिलबा		तिन्तलिः तिलकः	Tamarind Name of a tree	II, 4, 43 II, 4, 40
तेलाकोच	तिलकोड		तृण्डिकेरी	Name of a creeper	II, 4, 139
त्रिमन दशती	तीमन दशी		तेमनम् दशा	Vegetable Threads of a piece of woven cloth	II, 9, 44 II, 6, 114
दाढ़ी	डाढ़ी		दग्ध	Burnt grain or milk	II, 9, 49
दावौ देहली	दाचि देहरि		दर्विः देहलिः	A laddle Door of entrance	II, 9, 33 II, 2, 13

* Used in जाउत, son of—(Skt. यावृपुत्रः).

Sarvānan- da's words	Early and Modern Maithili	Sources of the Maithili Equivalents	Sanskrit Equivalents	English Translation	Sarvānanda's Kāṇḍa, Varga and Sloka
दूगड	तगगड	U. J.	?	Diluted curd	II, 9, 51
नहर	नहरु		स्नायुः	Sinew	II, 6, 62
निजिवा	निजिवा		नियामकः	A sailor	I, 10, 12
निमुन्दार	सिनुआरि		सिन्दुवाहः	Name of a tree	II, 4, 68
नेवाली	नेवारि	U. C.	नवमालिका	Name of a flower	II, 4, 72
पटोल	परोड		पटोलः (a loan word in sanskrit)	Cucumber	II, 4, 155
पटोली	परोडिआ		पटोलिका	Name of a herb	III, 8, 118
पतिगहा	पडिगहा		पतदग्रहः	A spittoon	III, 5, 21
परसू	परसू	U. J.	परश्वः	Day after to-morrow or before yesterday	III, 4, 21
पागुल	पागुर		?	Ruminat- ing	III, 5, 19
पाणाठी	फराही, पै		*स्पन्दयाष्टिका	Stick or goad	II, 9, 12
पारिविद	फरहद		पारिभद्रः	The coral tree	II, 4, 26
पाशोली	पसली, पाँजर	M. p. 96	पार्श्वस्थि	Sidebone	II, 6, 69
पिपड़ी	पिपड़ी		पिपीलिका	An ant	III, 5, 8
पीठावनी	पिठवन		पृश्नपर्णी ?	Name of a herb	II, 4, 92
पुताजिआ	पितौझिआ		पुत्रञ्जीवः	Name of a tree and its fruit	II, 4, 46
पत्तलका	पुतरा	M. p. 233	पुत्तलः	Doll	II, 10, 29
पुलिनव	(गदह)पुडैन		?	A creeper growing by water- side	II, 4, 149
पेडा	पेटार		पेटा	A trunk made of bamboo	II, 10, 30
पोलुवाट	पल्लावाट		?	A solitary path	II, 1, 17

Sarvānanda's words	Early and Modern Maithili	Sources of the Maithili equivalents	Sanskrit Equivalents	English Translation	Sarvānanda's Kāṇḍa, Varga and Śloka
पोव	पोरट		उपोदिका	Name of a vegetable	II, 4, 157
पोहाल	पोहार		पोताधानः	A place where fish keep their young ones	I, 10, 18
फिडङ्ग	फनिगा		पतङ्गः	A moth	II, 5, 28
फकुस	फैफस		?	The lungs	II, 6, 65
फोड	फोड़ा		स्फोटः	A boil	II, 6, 53
बदाल	बोआर		?	A kind of big fish	I, 10, 17
बाभनिआठी	बमनैठी	M. p. 99	ब्राह्मणयाष्टिका	Name of a herb	II, 4, 90
बुक्क	बुक	U. C.	बुक्का	Heart	II, 6, 64
बोन्ब	बौक		?	Dumb	III, 1, 12
भडित	भारल		भट्टित्रम्	Roasted	II, 9, 45
भाण्डा	भाँड़ा		?	Capital	II, 9, 80
भाण्डी	माँड		भाण्डम्	A pot	II, 9, 31
मउड	मौड		सुकुटम्	Turban	II, 6, 102
भणहल	मसन (काँट)	M. p. 87	मेणाहलः	A thorny plant	II, 4, 53
भल्ल	मलमल			Muslin	II, 6, 114
महुआ	महु		मधु	Name of a tree	II, 4,
महाद	महाद		?	A kind of preparation from lemon or tamarind	II, 9, 35
माझा	मुझगेंड	M. p. 142	मध्या	Waist	II, 6, 79
मुण्ड	मूड		?	Trunk of a cut tree	II, 4, 8
सुद्रबनी	वनमूड	M. p. 100	सुद्रपर्णी	Name of a kind of grain	II, 4, 114
रशाउन	लहसुन		रशोनकः	Garlic	II, 4, 148
रूढ	कूड	M. p. 102	कुष्टम् ?	Name of a herb	II, 4, 126
रोहड	रोहिड	M. p. 86	रोहितकः	Name of a tree	II, 4, 49

Sarvānanda's words	Early and Modern Maithili	Sources of the Maithili expressions	Sanskrit	English Translation	Sarvānanda's Kāṇḍa, Varga and Sloka
लाङ्गलिआ	लाङ्गलिआ		लाङ्गलिः	Name of a kind of poison	II, 4, 118
लाट्टाकरञ्ज	करकरेज	M. p. 86	?	Name of a herb	II, 4, 48
लुक्काइत बरहु	नुकाएल बरङ्गी	M. p. 63	वराटकः	Hidden Seed vessel of a lotus-flower	II, 8, 111 I, 10, 42
वरली बहडी	बिरनी बहेड़ा	M. p. 119	वरटा विभोतकः	The wasp Terminalia Belerica	II, 5, 27 II, 4, 58
बाखोड	बाखर*		?	A post to which an elephant or horse is fastened	II, 8, 41
वाटही बादिआ	बटेर, बटर्जी बादिआ	U. C. D. E.	वर्तका ?	The quail Snake charmer	I, 8, 11
बालिआड	बीरआड	M. p. 98	बद्धालका	Name of a plant	II, 4 107
बावहटारिण	बरेट	M. p. 114	?	A species of deer	II, 5, 7
बाहुका	बीहङ्गा	M. p. 233 U. R.	विहङ्गिका	A pole for carrying load	II, 10, 30
बीजपूर	बिजोर, बिज-पूर, बिजक पोर.	Vid. p. 3	बीजपूरः	Name of a kind of lemon	II, 4, 79
बेङ शमिल	बेङ तमैल		?	A frog	I, 10, 23
शिमबाडिका शिला	छीमडि सीर		शम्या	The pin of a yoke	II, 9, 14
			शिमबा शिली	The pee The lower timber of a door	II, 9, 23 II, 2, 13
शिहड	सीर		?	Root of a tree	II, 4, 11

* Cf. the Proverb “बोड़ न कूदए बाखर कूद” a horse does not jump but the post.

Sarvānanda's words	Early and Modern Maithili	Sources of the Maithili equivalents	Sanskrit Equivalents	English Translation	Sarvānanda's Kāṇḍa, Varga and Śloka
शुआउड शुका	सूडा हुका		शूककीटः उल्का	An insect A fire brand	II, 5, 13 III, 5, 8
सहिअरे	सहिआर	V. R. p. 31	सभिकः	Keeper of of a gam- ing house	II, 10, 43
सिङ्गाळि सिज्य	सिक्काङ्गि पसीझ सीझ	U. C.	शृङ्खला ?	Chain Name of a herb	II, 8, 42 II, 4, 106
सिहुली सोनाळ	सिहुली सोनाळ	M. p. 136 D. W.	सिद्धमः ? सुवर्णकः	Bloch Name of a tree	II, 6, 53 II, 4, 28
सोहण हकार हरिआल	सोहिजन हकार हरिअल	V. R. p. 43	शोभाञ्जनः आकरणम् हारीतकः	„ Invitation Name of a kind of pigeon	II, 4, 31 I, 6, 8 II, 5, 34
हरिट हाथइडा हिलमथी	हरिट, रिट्टी हथौडा सरहथी	U. C.	अरिष्टः ? हिलमाथिका	Soap berry A hammer A vegeta- ble	II, 4, 32 III, 3, 36 II, 4, 157
हेङ्कटी	हिचकी		हिक्की	Hiccough	III, 5, 8

To this may be added the following, which were found by Mr. Basantaranjana Rai. I have, however, not been able to trace them in the Trivendrum edition of the work in question. As Mr. Rai does not give any reference to pages etc. it could not be possible for me to verify them with all my attempts.

अन्दोलः ¹	हिङ्गुला	हिन्दोलः	A swing
धोकडा ²	धोकड़ा	?	A bag
भाला ¹	भाला	भल्लातकः	A weapon
मसक ³	मसक	?	A leather bag

¹ The words हिन्दोलः or अन्दोलिकः and भल्लातकः as referred to by Mr. Rai are not found in the index to Amarakośa, hence these could not be verified. (Index to Amarakośa, Viṣṇudatta Sarma's edition, Bombay. 1929).

² Rai's words are “धोकडा इतिरा ? यभवतः ? सूत थालिआ”
But under सूत the word धोकड़ा is not available (Vide II, 9, 26 and III, 1, 100).

³ Rai's words are “मसक कुतुर्मसक इतिख्यातेति भवतः”

But मसक is not found under कुतुः (Vide II, 9, 33).

N. B.— They have been included as they are current in modern Maithili.

FRESH AND FURTHER LIGHT ON THE MOHENJO-DARO RIDDLE.

BY

ANANT P. KARMAKAR, M. A., LL. B.

I. THE MINAS

Introductory

One would be surprised to find that the Archaeological Department of India has not much to say of its own in regard to the decipherment of about 2500 seals obtaining on the sites of Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro and Harappa respectively. Very recently Dr. Pran Nath and Dr. Waddell tried to decipher and interpret a few of the inscriptions, but they ceased to make any progress in that direction. The only scholar who has so far succeeded in deciphering all these 'picto-phonographic' inscriptions (as he would term them) is the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay. His decipherment reveals to us a different picture of the civilization, different from the one detailed in the Vedas, though not absolutely. If his theory be correct, then what we find in the Vedic and later literature is not anything more than the putting of old wine in new bottles. One of the conclusions of Father H. Heras, S. J., is that among other countries the inscriptions also indicate the existence of the *Mīnād* i. e. country of the Minas, as having been located in Northern and Southern India. We shall deal with the problem in the following pages.

Historical Value of the Epics and Purāṇas.

In our opinion, the 'Epics and the Purāṇas depict the oldest traditions in vogue in ancient India. Thus, in course of time, they while minimising the importance of some of these traditions, have still depicted the true reminiscences of the same either consciously or unconsciously. Whereas the Vedic, the Brāhmaṇical and later literature depict the particular phases of the cultural life of the Indians obtaining in those specific periods, the Purāṇas, on the other hand, have become the direct carriers in regard to the historical accounts of the different parts of India

handed down by tradition. It is in this light that we are to study the Purāṇas : though one need be aware of the fact that corroborating evidence from other sources is also necessary to foot the theories firmly.

Location of the Original Home of the Mīnas

The history of the Mīnas is one of such problems, the definite location and boundaries of which have not been successfully traced so far. The problem has been made more difficult, especially in view of the fact, that the Matsyas (a Sanskritized form of the word Mīnas) are referred to in many of the Purāṇas as having been located in the midland of India. But in our opinion, these Purāṇas refer most probably to the later migration of the disjointed forces of the Mīnas (Matsyas) a very few years after their almost total destruction in the Bhārata war. The Bhārata war gave a crushing blow to many of the Dravidian royal families among which that of the Mīnas was one.

There is a peculiar reference regarding the country of the Mīnas in the Viṣṇudharma Purāṇa. According to its version the countries of the Trigartas, Mīnas and the Kaulūtas are situated in the North-Eastern direction of India. To quote the verse itself :

त्रिगर्त-मीन-कौलूता ब्रह्मपुत्रास्सतीगणाः

अभिसाराश्व काश्मीराश्वोदक्पुर्वेण कीर्तिताः ॥

Viṣṇudharma Purāṇa Adh. 10, V. 10.

As the people of Kashmir are also seen included in this group, it may be safely concluded, that though these countries are said to have been located in the North-Eastern direction, yet it is not impossible that they should also have extended far into the interior portion of the country.

The Trigartas, in the opinion of scholars, were located round about Lahore¹ and evidently the country of the Mīnas must have been adjacent to that of the Trigartas. Its is also a fact of immense importance that the word Mīna itself is used instead of the word Matsya thus indicating the actual process of its transformation into a Sanskritized form in the Vedic times and later.

¹ N. pr. eines Volkes, Welches in hautigen Lahora Wohnte, Hemachandra's Abhijñānachintāmaṇi, 958--cf. Böethlingk und Roth, Sanskrit Wörter in buch.

The reading of the Indus Valley script by Rev. H Heras, S. J., gives the same original reading namely, Mina—and nobody may dare accuse him of 'Pre-Judgment' at least at this stage.

The question of the location of the Minas (Mināḍ in the Mohenjo-daro times) in Northern India becomes of still more easy and accurate understanding, if we are able to describe the boundaries of the forest of the Minas which is so often referred to in the post-Vedic literature and the Epics. It is interesting to note at the outset that the Mahābhārata mentions two Matsya countries i. e. Matsya and the Pratimatsya,¹ thus probably referring to the Northern and Southern countries of the Matsyas in the early times. The description of the Southern country of the Matsyas given in Kumāravyaśa's Bhārata in Kannāḍa also corroborates our view.

While corroborating the theory that the Minas were originally the residents of Northern India, the Rāmāyaṇa also refers to the *Bhārūṇḍavana* or the forest of the Vira-Matsyas. This forest is described to have been situated to the south of the River Sutlej but to the North of the River Sarasvati. The passage in the Rāmāyaṇa is as follows :

Bharata starts from Rājagṛha, the capital of the Kekayas, and on the way crosses the Sutlej river. Further :

ऐलधाने नदीं तीर्त्वा प्राप्य चापरपर्वतात् ।
 शिलामाकुर्वती तीर्त्वा आग्नेयं शल्यकर्षणम् ॥ ३ ॥
 सत्यसंधः शुचिर्भूत्वा प्रेक्षमाणः शिलावहास ।
 अभ्यागत्स महाशैलवनं चैत्ररथं प्रति ॥ ४ ॥
 सरस्वतीं च गङ्गां च युग्मेन प्रतिपद्य च ।
 उत्तरान्वीरमत्स्यानां भारुण्डं प्राविशद्वनम् ॥ ५ ॥²

The above passage is important from various points of view :

(a) Firstly, it helps us to locate the country of the Matsyas somewhere round-about the Harappa site. The word *Bhārūṇḍa* (or even *Bherūṇḍa*, *Bheraṇḍa*, *Bharūṇḍa* etc.) is also the name of Śiva.³ We doubt whether it can mean the same forest styled as *Nyagrodhāranya* in the Skāṇḍa Purāṇa in which Śiva is said

¹ cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣmaparva Adh.* 6, in which a detailed description of the countries and Peoples of India is given.

² *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 71, 3-5.

³ Wilson's interpretation, cf. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dict.*

to have played the fierce Tāṇḍava dance along with Kālī.¹ Peculiarly enough, the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions describe that an image of Āṇ in his Tāṇḍava posture was installed in a forest.² Then is it possible that this is the same image referred to in the passage of the Skānda Purāṇa, which according to the version of the Rāmāyaṇa happens to be the forest of the Northern Vira-Matsyas? For such a conclusion the fact that images of Āṇ in a Tāṇḍava posture are found on the Indus Valley sites is probably enough to support our view.

(b) The description of the forest of the Matsyas in the above passage gives us a direct clue in regard to the fact that it is not impossible that the country of the Minas was lying somewhere round-about the forest (probably to the north), but adjacent to the country of the Trigartas, situated to the north of the Sutlej River. This would bring us exactly somewhere near the Harappa site, which is at a distance of about fifty miles from the Sutlej River.

(c) One would be surprised to find that the forest Bhārūṇḍavana assumes altogether a different name in the Post-Vedic age e.g. Dvaitavana. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks of a Matsya king Dvasan Dvaitavana.³ The Mahābhārata locates the Dvaitavana to the North of the River Sarasvatī, which fact exactly corroborates our statement. The almost common use of the word Dvaitavana instead of 'Bhārūṇḍavana' may also help us to place the people of the Rāmāyaṇa even to a period earlier than that of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (though we are awaiting more substantial materials for this assertion). Further, the use of the word Dvaitavana also indicates the origin of the doctrine of Devotion as being in the land of the Minas—and that it first originated in the worship of Śiva, the supreme lord of the universe. (cf. *Supra*).

Their totem of Worship

We agree with the Rev. H. Heras S.J., when he says, that :

¹ Cf. न्यग्रोधारण्यमुक्तं ते यत्रोत्रो निर्ममे किल ॥
उच्चंडतांडवं काल्या साकं संघर्षमेयिवान् ॥

Skānda P. Māheśvara Kh. Aruṇāchala Māhātmya 2, 2, 66.

² 'Tāṇḍavan ir nāl maram : ' Heras, *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, p. 234.

³ *Satapatha B. I, vii, 3-8.*

"The ancient Dravidian tribes and perhaps also their contemporaries the Kolarians were totemic. An animal, a flower, or any other natural object was the totem of the tribe, by which they were known and after which they were styled. When the tribe considerably grew, subdivisions were made and each division, without omitting the original name, took a new sign by which they were called. Again very often two tribes or two portions of the country, were officially united and the flag or the union had another sign or device on it. This multiplication of symbols, which finally lost the original *totemic* meaning at times makes their identification extremely puzzling." ¹ Therefore the Minas got their name on account of the 'fish' as their totem. Even as against Keith, Macdonell agrees with the same view—though we are not in a position to agree with his interpretation of the meaning of the expression i. e. the belief in the descent of human race or of individual tribes or families from animals or plants." ² In our opinion the Minas were named so or rather they assumed the name—because they were the direct worshippers of the fish-emblem of Śiva (Āṇ). The fish happened to be one of the eight constellations of the Mohenjodaro Zodiac—the eight constellations being the eight forms of Śiva.

It is in this light that we are to interpret passages occurring in the Purāṇas, the early traces of these mythological accounts being found in the Mohejodaro inscriptions.

The two accounts detailed in the Epic and the Vāyu Purāṇa are as follows;

'In the *Ādiparva*, chap. 63 a king called Matsya is said to have been born from the womb of a fish along with Matsya-gandhā Satyavatī; (2) The Vāyu Purāṇa (chap, 99) gives a version to the effect that this Matsya king was born of Vasu Uparicara and a fish ' ³

In the Mohenjo-daro inscriptions Śiva is always identified with the Fish. To quote an instance or two. ⁴

"The three-eyes of the Great Fish."

"The Supreme Being of the Fish God (is) in front."
or even "(Āṇ) the great fish-eyed."

¹ Heras, *Mohejo Daro, The People and the Land, Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 707.

² *Vedic mythology*, p. 153.

³ Cf. also B. C. Law, *Ancient and Mid-Indian tribes*, Vol. I. p. 67.

⁴ Heras, *Religion of the Mohenjo Daro people according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 10-11.

However it should be a matter of surprise to those who are unwilling to believe the correctness of the method of decipherment of Father H. Heras, if we state that we have been able to get a flood of materials on the subject in the Purāṇas also. In one of the passages of the Skānda Purāṇa, Śiva is addressed as,

‘Mināya Mina-nāthāya’¹

‘To Mina, to the Lord of Mina or Minas’

Later once the ‘three-eyed matsyas’ (fish) are referred to in the same Purāṇa.² Add to this, the Kālikā Purāṇa throws a still more wonderful light on the Fish-form of Āṇ (Śiva). It is said, that Kāma (Cupid), when he was born again on account of the blessings of Śiva, installed the image of Śiva in his Fish form on the Matsyadhvaja-mountain situated to the east of Maṇikūṭa mountain in Kāmarūpa.³

If this be so, we shall have also an idea of the geographical distribution of these great gods of the proto-Indian peoples in the pre-Vedic times and later. In fact this religion of the Dravidians had spread in every nook and corner in India. And it was left for the Aryans to give a different colouring to these deities and their cult.

As once suggested by the Rev. H. Heras, personally that all these facts should give us a clue in regard to the origin of the idea of the Matsyāvatāra of Viṣṇu in later times. However we are not willing to deal with the *pros* and *cons* of the theory at this early stage. As regards the other problems in connection with the Minas, their cult and spread of their civilization, or their affinities with the Minoans of the west, either cultural or racial, we shall make it the subject of discussion on another occasion.

II. ĀṆ (RUDRA-ŚIVA)

The earliest Divine Triad worshipped in the time of the Mohenjo-Daro consisted of Āṇ, Āṇil and Amma. Āṇ is the Supreme Being in the universe.⁴ He is omniscient being always

¹ *Skānda Purāṇa, Māheśvara khaṇḍa*, Adh. 17.

² *Skānda Purāṇa, Prābhāsa khaṇḍa*, Adh. 255, 2.

³ *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, Adh. 82, Vs. 50-52.

⁴ For fuller information cf. H. Heras, *Religion of the Mohenjodaro People according to the inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. V. Pt. 1, pp. 1-29.

called as 'Viḍukaṇ'. He is benevolent. He is the One Great life-giver in the universe. He is the supreme being of life. In him are possessed the power of destruction and Generation. In one of the seals is to be found 'the earliest representation of the three-faced god Śiva, seated in a Yogic posture wearing a trident-like head-gear. Round this several animals are placed—which are probably the totems of the different tribes that inhabited Mohenjo-daro'. Further according to the reading of Father H. Heras, Āṇ is known by his eight forms e. g. the Ram, the Harp, the Crab, the Mother, the Scale, the Arrow, the Jar and the Fish or the two fishes, which also happen to be all the eight constellations of the Mohenjo-daro Zodiac.

Āṇ is three-eyed. His Tāṇḍava dance is referred to once. His Sun-characteristic is described in one of the inscriptions: "Of the great God who is the Sun on high." It should also be noted in this connection that the 'līṅga' is described as "the lustrous līṅga is the high Sun."

It should be really interesting to study the different stages of Mythology in regard to the history of Gods in the life of every nation. The farsighted Savant Dr. Adelung was correct when once he asserted that the home of the Aryans was the land of Kashmir in which the Vedic writings were produced.¹ Rightly so. No doubt the Aryans did start with the capital that they had brought with them e. g. the system of the fire-worship and also whatever was common between them and the Indo-Iranians. But their process of assimilation and adaptation was quick and intelligent. First with a doubt of suspiciousness, later with a more firm attitude, they imbibed all the traditions of the country. The history of Vaiṣṇavism is full of that. So much so, that the Great Buddha, Mahāvīra, and later Basava in the 11th century had again to isolate the religion of the common masses for their comfort and well being. We shall try to trace, however, the history of Āṇ in this connection.

Śisna-devāḥ : Āṇ

The earliest references to Āṇ in the R̥gveda are those addressed probably to Rudra. Without going into the details regarding the characteristics of Rudra as detailed in the Vedic literature,

¹ Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans*, p. 9.

we may safely state that he is being endowed with all possible destructive elements i. e. just to make him ready for carrying out of the functions of the later Śiva as the destroyer of the world. In doing so they were really causing a bifurcation between his attributes of person and personality and those of his cosmic functions e.g. creation, preservation and destruction, which, are so evidently to be found in the idea of the image of the three-faced Āṇ in earlier times. Evidently in doing so they were trying to create a three-eyed nude God, who according to the Vedic thinkers, was to be allowed in the Vedic pantheon mainly on account of his destructive capacity (cf. the story of Dakṣa and Śiva), at the same time creating a nauseating idea about those who worshipped this hideous figure alone as apart from the other gods of the Vedic pantheon.

Such an attempt is to be seen in the expression 'Śisna-devāḥ (pl.)'. The Vedic seers prayed that, 'let not these Śisna-devāḥ enter their sacrificial pandal.' To quote the stanza itself :

न यातवः इन्द्र जूष्टुवः नः न वंदना विशिष्टत्वेद्याभिः ।

सशर्धन् अर्यः विष्टुण्य जंतोः मा शिश्रऽदेवाः असिष्टः कृतं नः॥

ऋग्वेद ७, २१, ५¹

But what should be the meaning of this expression? All the scholars, up till now, interpreted the word as meaning '(those) who (have the) Phallus as their deity'.² But under the present circumstances, especially in the light of the new evidence that has become available in Sumer (Khafaje) and Mohenjo Daro, we may definitely say that the above interpretation is wrong, and that the expression 'Śisna-devāḥ' must mean those (Gods) possessed of a 'Śisna' (Śisnayuktāḥ-Devāḥ) which was rather a curt manner of abusing the gods of the indigenous people of India whose Āṇ was perfectly nude. The standing nude figures of Āṇ are to be found in Khafaje (Sumer)³ also. That is an instance how the God of the Mohenjo-daro has later travelled there.

¹ Cf. also *Rgveda* X, 99, 3.

² *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 382. Sāyaṇa interprets the word as अश्रद्धाचरिणः

³ Heras, *The Plastic Representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians—Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, Figures No. 3 and 4 opp. p. 224.

This kind of interpretation is also in keeping with the learned scholarship of the Vedic-singers. If they really wanted to refer to the Śisna-worshippers then we may say that vocabulary was not wanting for them so as to use the expression in such a round about fashion—as the later critics and commentators want them to do. Further this also agrees with the version how the Rudras who were not allowed to have any share in the sacrifice, were later on offered the share in the oblations. The story of Dakṣa and Śiva also shows how mythology developed itself later on. Further this may also suggest the mode of interpretation of the earlier hymns in which the name of Rudra (or Rudras) does not appear and was only in a process of formation then.

That the word Rudra conveys the meaning of a standing figure of Āṇ in an *Ūrdhvā-liṅga* posture is directly conveyed by the following among other passages, which have tried to give the meaning of the word Sthāṇu [Stha-Āṇu (Āṇ)] :

ऊर्ध्वरतोः स्थितः स्थाणुर्यावदाभूतसंष्ट्रवम् ॥ ८८ ॥

यस्मात्प्रोक्तं स्थितोऽस्मीति तस्मात्स्थाणुर्बुधैः स्मृतः ॥ ८९ ॥

ब्रह्माण्डमहापु. अ. १० ॥

The word Sthāṇu occurs once in the R̥gveda but in a different sense. But the word as indicating Śiva is of free and common occurrence in the Purāṇic period.

Further the word Devāḥ (in Śisna-devāḥ) also indicates the existence of a tradition that Rudra was not one but many—most probably on account of his having various functions or names even. In the earlier stages their number is eleven (Ekādaśa) later it becomes one hundred e. g. Śata-Rudra.

Śiva-Paśupati

We have already stated above that one of the seals on the Indus Valley sites represents the figure of Śiva which is surrounded by animals which are probably the totems of the various tribes in Ancient India. That Śiva came to be styled so in the Vedic times is proved from a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which states that Rudra as a 'Paśupati' is worshipped in the country of the Bāhikas.¹ Two facts need be noted in this connection, namely, that it also refers to the Matsya king Dhvasan

¹ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, ii, 11.

Dvaitavana as performing sacrifices, and (2) the same work refers to this Paśupati form of Rudra in the Bāhika (Bāhika) country. Only one conclusion is possible in this regard that just after the close of the Bhārata war the way for the migration of the Aryans must have become safer; and while marching downwards they must have also been using their weapon of reformation, so much so that the worship of the indigenous gods of India must have been performed only in the far-distant countries where the conquerors could not go and meddle with the affairs of the population. Thus by assuming the existence of two countries side by side, i. e. that of the Bāhikas (or Bāhikas) and that of the Matsyas—the theory of Prof. Shembavanekar,¹ that the country and civilization of the Bāhikas (Vāhikas) is not at all referred to in the Brāhmanic period falls to the ground. The particular geographical description of the country of the Vāhikas (or Bāhikas-Bāhikas) as detailed by him rather indicates the existence of a civilization of a later date, much later than that of the Mohenjodaro or the Vedic times. Such a conclusion is not impossible, if we take this into consideration that the working of the Mahābhārata does not belong to one period and much less to one generation.

The Trimurti Figure of Āṇ

A reference has already been made regarding the three-faced figure of Āṇ obtaining in the Indus Valley sites. The curt manner in which the Aryans have spoken of these nude figures by calling them 'Śiśnadevāḥ' should be sufficient to prove that this nude figure in the Trimūrti posture must have formed the image of a non-Aryan God. And as Father H. Heras, has pointed out that even the reminiscence of the same idea can be traced in the Mahēsamūrti obtaining in the Elephanta caves.

If this be the case then the idea must have been prevalent originally, that Śiva represented all the cosmic functions namely those of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. But after the Aryans handled all these ideas, we find that these functions of the Trimūrti were divided and apportioned to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva (Rudra), having, however, allowed Rudra in their pantheon in the later period of the Brāhmaṇas. The word 'Brahman,' which originally denoted only 'a prayer' or 'incan-

¹ Shembavnekar, *The Identity of the Indus Valley Race with the Vāhika's Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XX, pp. 477ff.

tation,' was at once endowed with the sanctity of being the creator of the universe. Further, Viṣṇu who owes his position to that of Āṇ-Liṅga originally (cf. *ante*), becomes the preserver of the universe. The work of destruction, however, was allotted to Śiva alone.

Recently some attempts were made to prove that the three-faced nude figure (seated in a Yogic posture) obtaining on these Proto-Indian sites must have been that of Agni. But there is no reason nor logic in such a conclusion. If the reasons adduced above are taken into consideration, along with the fact that the Aryan bands were busy in adopting and assimilating all the traditions in vogue in India—the whole matter would become an easy understanding. The Aryans, in fact, would not spare themselves in applying all the epithets of the other gods to their own god and raise him to the supreme position, on account of which the word 'Henotheism' has come into vogue. The common characteristics between Āṇ and Agni, if there be any, may be due to this fact. However, Prof. G. M. Moraes has fitly refuted this still unproved theory.¹ We need not go into details here.

Sūrya-Viṣṇu-Āṇ (Śiva)

It would come as a surprising shock, indeed, if we were to say that the original Vaiṣṇavism has something in common with the pre-Vedic notions of Āṇ. Both the Āṇ and the Liṅga were identified with the sun (cf. *Supra*).² Besides this, we know of one fact, which is absolutely certain that Viṣṇu appears in the Vedic pantheon only on the soil of India. At least we do not find any trace of him in the Indo-Iranian period. Further, the Sun happens to be the symbol of Viṣṇu. Thus if the appearance of Viṣṇu in the Vedic pantheon is of a later date, and if, as we say it, the idea behind the cult is a direct borrowing from that of Āṇ-liṅga, then we must be able to find something in common between the two originally i. e. some common word or expression

¹ Moraes, *A Mohenjo Daro figure*, *The New Review*, Vol. X. No. 59, pp. 438ff.

² That Rudra was originally identified with the Sun can be perceived from the later Purāṇic tradition wherein he is included among the twelve Ādityas.

‘धाता मित्रोऽयमा रुद्रो वरुणः सूर्य एव च’

etc. *Apte's Dictionary*

which would indicate the interdependence of each other. In our opinion the word '*Śipiviṣṭa*' used as denoting one of the two earlier forms of Viṣṇu, strongly corroborates our view-point. According to the opinion of Aupamanyava¹ the word conveys a bad meaning. Bhojasena interprets it as meaning, (Viṣṇu) looking like the 'Penis (liṅga) with skin drawn aback.' The Vedic poets also express that Viṣṇu does possess another form which is decent and is seen on the battlefield. But later on, Yāska gave the word a different meaning altogether i. e. 'rays' for which act he is applauded in later works. But why should Aupamanyava and others be in the wrong? They had given the right meaning and interpretation of the word. In fact, if the Ān-linga was being identified with the Sun, the Sun-Viṣṇu would be identified naturally with the same at least in the earlier stages of the transformation.

It should also be noted that on the arrival of Viṣṇu in the Vedic pantheon, the existence of the three gods Ān (Rudra-Śiva), Viṣṇu and Sūrya-Savitṛ comes into being simultaneously. We agree with Dr. Macdonell when he says that the name Savitṛ has all the appearance of being a word of purely Indian formation,² and further, that 'in several passages Savitṛ and Sūrya appear to be spoken of indiscriminately to denote the same deity.'³ This is mainly so on account of the bifurcation of the main functions of Ān. Very soon Sūrya is even raised to the position of '*Ātmā*'. Savitṛ becomes the all-seer. Later Savitṛ is identified with Prajāpati (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 12, 3, 5) and he is even said to have created the world (Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I. 6, 42). The followers of the Aryan line of thinking went even one step further i. e. just to bring the two deities Viṣṇu and Ān (Rudra-Śiva) to a still more subordinate position, they superimposed the entity of Brahman, which becomes the supreme being in the Upanisadic period. Henceforth Śiva attains a minor position in the Hindu

¹ For a fuller discussion cf. *Rājavāde, Niruktache Marāṭhi Bhāṣāntara* (in Marāṭhī) pp. 36ff.

(a) शिपिविष्टः विष्णुः इति विष्णोः द्वे नामानि ।

(b) भोजसेन— शेष इव वेष्टनवर्जितः ।

(c) औपमन्यव— उपमानयोगात् कुत्सितार्थीयमिति एतदौपमन्यवः ।

² Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 34.

³ Ibid., p. 33.

Pantheon, and his Dvaita religion (as can be perceived from the use of the word Dvaitavana), or the doctrine of devotion was subordinated to that of the philosophical attainment to Brāhmaṇa-hood.

Thus along with the bifurcation of the two gods Āṇ-Śiva and Viṣṇu—a severance also took place between their Bhaktas or Devotees. The early Vaiṣṇavas are Vaidikas or followers of the Vedic rites, and eventually the Śaivites are termed as A vaidikas. This is how we get the exact clue regarding the curses that follow between the devotees of Śiva and Viṣṇu or those of Śiva and Dakṣa, against each other (cf. the Purāṇic stories).

The characteristic of Savitr-Sūrya as Ātman becomes merged in the Ātman of the Upaniṣadic period. After depriving Āṇ of many of his characteristics, we shall see how the promoters of the Aryan thought developed the Hindu religion later on.

(*To be continued*)

THE DATES OF NĀRĀYAṆA DĪKṢITA AND OTHER
COMMENTATORS OF THE VĀSAVADATTĀ OF
SUBANDHU

BY

P. K. GODE

Aufrecht¹ records the following information about a commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* by Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita:—

“वासवदत्ता, a romance by Subandhu. Commentary by Nārāyaṇa B. 2. 106. *Radh* 22.

“वासवदत्ता by Subandhu, comm. by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita A. K. 567.”

I propose to analyse the only available Ms.² in the above list of Aufrecht viz. A. K. 567 which is identical with No. 567 of 1891-95 in the B.O. R. Institute- Govt. Mss. Library. The Ms. belonged once to a man of the name वंशधर चक्रवर्ति as stated in an endorsement³ on a leaf at the beginning of the Ms. The Ms. begins as follows:—

Folio 1— “ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

पायाद्योगो सहस्रेण क्रीडन् गोपाठको हरिः ।

प्रकाशदंतघातेन भिदानो ध्वान्तकुंजरं ॥ १ ॥

Folio. 2 -- “...सीदसीन(?) गुणवारिधिरिंदसौम्यः

सोमाभिभूति सत साधि स...कुमारः ।

¹ CC I, 566 and CC III, 120. Out of the three Mss recorded by Aufrecht two belonged to private individuals : only the 3rd Ms. (AK 567) is deposited in the Govt. Mss. Library (B. O. R. Institute under No. 567 of 1891-95. No description of this Ms. has been recorded by Prof. A. B. Kathawate in his report which includes this Ms. among Mss. acquired for Govt.

² The fourth Ms. of Nārāyaṇa's commentary is also recorded by Aufrecht (CC. II, 224) as “ Ulwar 967 ”. This Ms. is not accessible to me. Peterson in his Catalogue of Ulwar Mss (1892) p. 42, describes this Ms. as follows:— “ 967, A commentary on the *Vāsavadattā*, called *Sarvaṅkaṣā* by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita. ”

³ This endorsement reads:— “ ॥ पुस्तकमिदं वासवदत्ताटिप्पनस्य सुरलधिरात्मज-वंशधरचक्रवर्तिनः ”

...था तटानि । चित्रीचकार चयनैरुपकन्यकुब्जे
तस्मादजायत जितेन्द्रियवृन्दवन्धो ।...त मुख्यरेखः ।
नित्रीकृतः क्षितिपतिः क्षमिता च पूज्यः ।
सर्वोपकारि पुरिदीक्षितविश्वरूपः ।.....
शिशुप्रबोधाविमलाटीका कृता सज्जनैः
सानुक्रो...श धिया सुबन्त्यजनिता योषेव पोष्या स्वयं (?)
नारायणदीक्षितेन बहुशः श्रुत्वा गुरुभ्यस्तनो—
दृष्ट्वा कोशदशद्वयीं रसमयान्त्रंथाश्च शब्दाकरान् ।
सुबन्धुरचितस्यास्या...श्लिष्टार्थस्यविशिष्टता ।
शिष्टावृतस्य पुष्टस्य बन्धुवत्क्रियते मया ॥
करवदरसदृशमखिलं भुवनतलं यत्प्रसादतः कवयः ।
पश्यन्ति सूक्ष्ममतयः सा जयति सरस्वती देवी ॥

The colophons of some of the chapters may be reproduced here :—

Folio 23—“ श्रीनारायणदीक्षितं हरिपदद्वंद्वारविंदे रतं
सावित्री सुषुवे सुकर्मनिचयं श्रीविश्वरूपश्रयं ।
ते.....तः सुविस्तरवती व्याख्या कृता चाधुना
संक्षिप्ताप्तनिवारितेन परतो ग्रंथ.....

॥ ॥ इति श्री नारायणदीक्षितकृतायां वासवदत्तटीकायां.....॥

Folio. 46—“ श्रीनारायणदीक्षितं हरिपदद्वंद्वारविंदे रतं
सावित्री सुषुवे सुकर्मनिचयं श्रीविश्वरूपश्रयं ।
तेनेयं बहु चिंतयाकुलहृदा व्याख्याकृता सज्जनैः
स्वीकार्या परदोषमुद्रणाधियोभ्यासास्पदास्ते यतः ॥
॥ इति श्रीनारायणदीक्षितविरचितायां वासवदत्तटीकायां
द्वितीयः प्रघट्टकः ॥

Folio. 75—“ (श्रीनाराय)णदीक्षितं हरिपदद्वंद्वारविंदे रतं
सावित्री सुषुवे सुकर्मनिचयं श्रीविश्वरूपश्रयं ।
(ये)न म्लेच्छभिया विमोहितधिया ¹ व्याख्यां कृतां सज्जनाः
स्वीकुर्वन्तु यतः पराणुगणिता.....लीकृतैकव्रताः ॥

¹ The expression “ म्लेच्छभिया विमोहितधिया ” applied by our commentator to himself suggests that he lived at a place and time full of insecurity to life and property and the consequent disturbed condition of mind. The fear of Mlecchas or Mohammedans referred to in the above expression did not how-

॥ ॥ ॥ इति श्रीवासवदत्ताटीकायां तृतीयः प्रघट्टकः ॥ ३ ॥

Last folio. 83—The Ms. ends—

“ श्रीनारायणदीक्षितं हरिपदद्वंद्वारविंदे रतं
सावित्री सुषुवे सुकर्म (निचयं श्री) विश्वरूपश्रयं ।
तेनौद्धत्य विवर्जितेन गुणिना संक्षिप्य नारायणी-
नाम्नीयं रचिता रदर्थ ?) विशदा व्युत्पत्तिवृद्धै सताम् ।

॥ इति श्रीदीक्षितनारायणविरचितायां वासवदत्ताटीकायां चतुर्थः
प्रघट्टकः समाप्तः ॥ ४ ॥ ”

The parentage of our author as disclosed by the foregoing extracts may be represented as follows :—

विश्वरूप (दीक्षित) hailing from कन्यकुब्ज (married
सावित्री)

|
Son

नारायण दीक्षित, the author of नारायणी टीका on सुबन्धु's वासवदत्ता.

Nārāyaṇa states that he used no less than 20 lexicons and numerous works on rhetorics and poetics in the composition of his present commentary. It is natural, therefore, that this commentary is rich in citations from these and other works as will be seen from the following list¹ of works and authors mentioned by him :—

अमरः 2, 3, 14, 26, 28, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 49, 53, 56, 60,
66, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82,

भाष्यकारवचनात्, 3,

अजयशाश्वतौ, 3, शाश्वतः (about 6th Century A. D.), (22), 24, 37,
50, 53,

(continued from the previous page)

ever, deter our author from completing the learned commentary before us, with the help of no less than 20 lexicons (कोशदशद्वयी) and numerous works on poetics (रसमयान् ग्रंथान् etc.) as he informs us in the beginning of his commentary. It was such zest for study that was responsible for the unbroken continuity of learned pursuits, glimpses of which we get occasionally in the casual references of mediaeval writers.

¹ I have included in this list some specimens of vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit words explained by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita. These equivalents are generally introduced by the expressions: “ इति लोके ”, “ इति प्रसिद्धिः ”, “ इति ख्यातः ” etc.

अजय 6, (30), 74, (Before A. D. 1140).

निघंटुकः 3, 7,

एकाक्षर निघंटुकः 4,

दंडी (8th Century), 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 33, 45, 62, 63, 70, 77,

शृंगारार्णवे,¹ 4—

“ तथा च शृंगारार्णवे—

ताम्रग्रतः पृष्ठत एव तां च

पार्श्वद्वये तामुपरि स्थितां तां ।

तद्भावसंमोहितचित्तवृत्तिः

पश्यामि तां सर्वगतां अनियां ॥

भरतः (Between 200 B. C. and 300 A. C.) 4, 5 (भरतसूत्रं), 48,

विश्वः (A. D. 1111). 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 22, 25, 35, 36, 49, 54,
56, 59, 61, 70,

वामनपुराणे, 5,

काव्यप्रकाशवचनात् (about 1100 A. D.) 5, 8,

बोपालितः (Before A. D. 950) 6, 49, 60,

हैममाला (of Hemacandra—1088–1172 A. D.) 6, 64,

वैजयंती, (about 1050 A. D.) 6, 25, 33, 38, 42, 44, 45,

{ जयंति कोषः 38—“ वेणी जलप्रवाह स्यात्केशबंध विधौ तथा ।

संगमे सर्पनिर्मोके सीमंते च प्रयागके ॥ इति जयंतिकोषः ”

{ जयंतः ² 61, 79, (जयंत = जयंतिकोष possibly),

एकाक्षरसंग्रहः 6,

सरस्वतीकंठाभरणं (11th Century) 7, 8, 54 (कंठाभरण),

रुचकः (or रुच्यक—about 1150 A. D.) 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 51, 70,

वामन (about 800 A. D.) 8, 10,

वैशेषिकाः, 8,

पूर्वाचार्याः, 9,

भामह—उद्भटादयः अलंकारकाराः, 9, 17 (भामह) (6th or 7th Cent.),

उद्भटादिभिः (18), (about 800 A. D.),

अलंकारसर्वस्व, 9, 10, 12, 52,

¹ No work on poetics of this name “शृंगारार्णव” has been recorded by Aufrecht. Prof. Kane mentions a work called the “शृंगाररत्नाकर” in his Index of works (*Sāhityadarpaṇa* Edn., 1923, p. CLXXVI). I am unable to say if शृंगारार्णव is equal to शृंगाररत्नाकर.

² No lexicon of the name “जयंत” or “जयंतिकोष” has been recorded by Aufrecht.

कुमारभट्ट¹ :—10—

“अतस्तेन गुणविशिष्टादि रचनात्मिकारीतिः काव्यजीवित-
त्वेनोक्ता । अत्र प्रथमेऽर्थे भारतीयवृत्तिः अन्येष्वर्थेषु कौशिकी वृत्तिः ।

वीराद्भुतप्रहसितैरिह भारतीस्यात्...

.....वर्गादिताद्भुत वीररौद्रेः ।

शृंगारहास्यकरुणैरपि कौशिकी स्यात्

इष्टा भयानक(श्रु ?) ता.....(इति) कुमारभट्टः ”

चंद्रगोमी, 12, (A. D. 470),

उक्तं च कद्वये, 20,

उक्तं च गुणपताकायाम्,² (21),

“ वाला तांबूलवाला फलरससुरसा हारसन्मानहार्या

मुक्तालंकारहारप्रमुखवितरणैरयते यौवनस्था ।

सद्भावारछगाढोद्भटरतमुखिता मध्यमा रागलुब्धा

मृदालापै प्रहृष्टा भवति गतया गौरवेणातिदूरं ॥

कृष्णमिश्रैः, 21 (about A. D. 1150)

सुरारिः कविः, 22, (about A. D. 800)

चार्वाकाः, 27

महाभारते, 29,

इति दाक्षिणात्याः पठन्ति, 30,

¹ Viśvanātha (14 Century A. D.) in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (VI, 122) refers to *Vṛttis* : *Kaśikī* and *Bhārati* as follows :—

“ अथ वृत्तयः—

शृंगारे कैशिकी, वीरे सात्वत्यारभटी पुनः ।

रसे रौद्रे च बीमत्से, वृत्तिः सर्वत्र भारती ॥ २२ ॥

I wonder if कुमारभट्ट mentioned by Nārāyaṇa Dikṣita is identical with कुमार-
स्वामिन्, the author of रत्नापण commentary on the *Pratāparudrayaśobhāṣaṇa*
(about A. D. 1300-1325). Kumārasvāmin was the son of Kolācala-Mallinātha.
The new date for Mallinātha is A. D. 1430 (see *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol.
II, p. 442— Dr. Raghavan's article) and hence his son Kumārasvāmin should
be assigned to A. D. 1450.

² No work of the title “ गुणपताका ” has been recorded by Aufrecht in his
Catalogus Catalogorum or by Profs. S. K. De and P. V. Kane in their *Histo-*
ries of Poetics. The work appears to have been older than A. D. 1200 as
I propose to show on evidence in a special paper later. Prof. Kane informs
me under date 23rd February 1940 :—“ I do not remember to have heard the
name of a book called गुणपताका ”. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar also informs me to
same effect.

हलायुधः (about 950 A. D.) 33, 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 44, 51, 52, 53, 61, 63, 66, 69, 79, 82,

हारावली (Before A. D. 1159), 34, 40, 46, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56,

घराणि: 37, (Before A. D. 1159).

उत्तरतंत्रे,¹ 39, 45, 48, 54, 55, 56, 62, (See Śivarāma on Vāsavadattā p. 184, 242),

उत्पलिनी, 40, 45, 53,

‘दात्यूहः कालकंठक इत्यमरः डाउक इति लोके’—44,

कामशास्त्रेषु, 44, 53.

बराहमिहिरः, 45,

मल्लनागः, 46,

रमसः 47,

“शूलभञ्जन” इति प्रसिद्धिः 48,

विंध्यवासिनी, 40, 48, 56,

स्मृतिः, 53,

सांवत्सरे ज्योतिषि, 55,

“गुलिकाः गुला इति प्रसिद्धिः,” 60

“तुलाधारो वस्तु परिणामकारी राजपुरुषः । वया इति ख्यातः,” 61.

विष्णुपुराण, 65,

पाणिनिव्याकरणेन, 74,

“सीहाली ति प्रसिद्धः,” 79,

“आतर्पणं ॥ अइपण इति ख्यातः,” 79,

सामुद्रिकः, 79,

“सहरा इति ख्याताः,” 80.

सभाषवर्णि, 81,

“द्वामाषयुति कउडेददेका इति प्रसिद्धाः,” 82,

“कंठालकं गौणी । कठाल इति प्रसिद्धः,” 82,

1 Vide Aufrecht CC I, 63—“उत्तरतंत्र probably part of a dictionary.” As some of the commentators of the *Vāsavadattā* quote from this vocabulary and as it appears to have been lost, it is worth while collecting and putting on record all quotations from it wherever found. The list of Sanskrit lexical works given by Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā at the end of his Introduction to the *Kalpadrakoṣa* I, 1928 (Baroda) pp. LV-LXII mentions no work of the name “उत्तरतंत्र”.

In the above list of references the mention of रुचक¹ and his अलंकारसर्वस्व of about 1150 A. D. enables us to fix A. D. 1200 as the earlier limit to Nārāyaṇa's commentary. The references to हेममाला² on folios 6 and 64 of our Ms further enable us to push this limit forward upto A. D. 1250 or so, as we know that Hemacandra was born in A. D. 1089 and died at the ripe old age of 84 years in A. D. 1173.³

The later limit for Nārāyaṇa's date cannot be definitely fixed at present but judging by the condition and script of the Ms. before me I am inclined to believe that the Ms was written about A. D. 1600 or 1650. Secondly our commentator, who boasts that he has used no less than 20 lexicons in the preparation of his commentary, does not refer to late lexicons. If the reference to कुमारभट्ट is proved to be made by our author to कुमारस्वामी the son of Mallinātha (A.D.1430) we may be in a position to assert that Nārāyaṇa is later than A.D. 1500 or so but as no other work of कुमारस्वामिन् is so far known except the commentary on the *Pratāparudrayaśo-bhūṣaṇa* and as the verse ascribed to कुमारभट्ट is not found by me in this commentary no conclusion of a definite nature can be arrived at on the strength of this reference to कुमारभट्ट. Perhaps a study of other commentaries⁴ on the *Vāsavadattā* may give us

¹ Vide p. 194 of *Sanskrit Poetics* by Dr. S. K. De, Vol. I (1923). Dr. De fixes the literary career of *Rucaka* or *Ruyyaka* "in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century."

² Vide p. xxxvi of preface to *Kalpadrakoṣa*, Vol. I (Baroda, 1928—Hemacandra composed देशीनाममाला, अभिधानचिन्तामणि (also called अभिधानचिन्तामणि-नाममाला) and other lexicons.

³ See *Kāvyaṇuśāna* (Parikh and Athavale 1938) Intro. p. CCLXVII and CCXIC.

⁴ Aufrecht mentions the following commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā* :— (CCI, 566) — (1) तत्त्वदीपिनी by Jagaddhara *

(2) Comm. by Narasimhasena*

(3) „ by Nārāyaṇa (see No. 16 below) *

(4) चूर्णिका by Prabhākara*

(5) तत्त्वकौमुदी by Rāmadeva*

(6) व्याख्यायिका by Vikramārdhhi Kavi*

(7) काचिनदर्पण by Śrīngāragupta*

(8) Comm. by Śivarāma*

(9) „ by Sarvacandra*

(continued on next page)

a definite later limit for Nārāyaṇa in case his commentary is referred to in these commentaries. For the present we may tentatively fix Nārāyaṇa's date between A. D. 1250 and 1550.¹

Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita's commentary is one of the 17 commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā*. I have had occasion to peruse cursorily only a few of them. Some indication of their chronological limits may be given below :—

(1) *Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita*—after about 1250 A. D.

(2) *Vidagdhaballabhā*—after about 1300 A. D.

(continued from the previous page)

(CCII, 133)—(10) Com. by Timmaya Sūri*

(11) „ by Sarvarakṣita*

(12) „ Siddhaśāndraganī*

(13) „ Sūkṣmadarsin*

(CCIII, 120)—(14) „ by Kāśīrāma*

(15) वासवदत्तापाञ्चिका विदग्धवल्लभा*

(16) Comm. by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita* (Vide No. 3 above)

(17) „ by Raṅganātha*

(18) वासवदत्तास्थूलतात्पर्य*

Adyar Mss Catalogue (Part II, 1928) p. 2 records a Ms of वासवदत्ताव्याख्या called भावदीपिका (24 A 9 ग्र 70). I cannot say if this commentary is an additional commentary or is identical with any of the above commentaries.

¹ The Govt. Mss. Library (B. O. R. Institute) contains a Ms. of a com. on the *Vāsavadattā* called विदग्धवल्लभा (No. 464 of 1887-91). I have gone through this Ms. cursorily. This commentary refers to the following works and authors :— विश्व, अमर, धराणि, एकाक्षरकोष, भरत, सरस्वतीकंठाभरण, पुराणवार्ता, पुराणाचार्याः, मेदिनी (fol. 16) हागवली मेदिनी (11), स्वप्नाध्याये (13), मेदिनीकर (18), शाश्वत, भारतकथा, उत्पलिनी, “ डाउक इति प्रसिद्धः ” (23), मेदिनी (23), बराहमिहिर, मल्लनागः (24), वामनः (26), मेदिनीकर (27 and 30), कात्यायन (31), उत्तरतंत्र (31, 32, 33, 39, रत्नकोश (33, 40) जैमिनी (32), कालिदास (34), गीतगोविंद (39), जयदेव (43), नानार्थः (46 and 50), शब्दप्रकाश (50), विंध्यव्यासी (55). The Ms. ends :— “ इति श्री विदग्धवल्लभा नाम वासवदत्ताव्यापाञ्चिका समाप्ता. ” No information about the author is found in the Ms. Many of the works mentioned by नारायण are found in the above list. The references to मेदिनी or मेदिनीकर found in this commentary are absent in Nārāyaṇa's commentary. The poet जयदेव and his गीतगोविंद mentioned by this commentary furnish us the earlier limit to its date which should be about 1300 A. D. as जयदेव is assigned by scholars to the 13th century (Dr. De : *Poetics*, I, 219).

(3) *Siddhicandragaṇi* ¹—Contemporary of Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1542-1605).

(4) *Jagaddhara*—Between A. D. 1300 and 1400 ²

(5) *Śivārāma Tripāṭhin* ³—Between 1700 and 1725 A. D.

(6) *Raṅganātha* ⁴—later than *Prabhākara*, the author of the *Cūṛṇikā* on the *Vāsavadattā*. *Prabhākara*, is earlier than A. D. 1685.

¹ Vide IHQ. IX (1933) p. 138—Siddhicandra, the disciple of Bhānucandra was a teacher of Akbar. The title *Khusfaham* was conferred on Siddhicandra, by Jahangir. Siddhicandra refers to Akbar in the following verse of the *Vāsavadattāvivarāṇa* (Ms. No. 781 of 1886-92).

Folio 1—“ अकबराह्वान महीमहेन्द्र—

योऽपि पठत्पाठकसर्वभौमः ।

सहस्रनामानि सहस्ररश्मेः

सौवर्णसिंहासनसंस्थितः सन् ॥ ७ ॥ ”

Siddhicandra also refers to Jahangir in verse 10 at the beginning of this commentary as “ जिगांगीरनरेन्द्रचन्द्र ”. In the colophon Bhānucandra is called the teacher of Akbar in reading सूर्यसहस्रनाम (“ अकब्वरसूर्यसहस्रनामाध्यापक). For further details of Akbar's interest in Sun-worship see Dr. Hiranand Sastri's article in the IHQ. referred to above. Siddhicandra refers to the following authors and works in his वासवदत्ताविवरणः—मालतीमाधव, काव्यप्रकाश, विश्व, निवृण्ड, अमर, पुराण, शाश्वत, मीमांसक, अमिधान, हलायुध, हारावली, शृंगारतिलक (fol. 15), धराणि, हैममाला, अनेकार्थ, वैजयंती, वराहमिहिर, दंडी, कामशास्त्र, जैमिनि, भरत, कोष, नीतिशास्त्र, जयंत (43). Prof. H. D. Velankar notes two other Mss of Siddhicandra's commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* besides the one I have used above. These Mss are indicated by him as— “ JG p.332 ” and “ VA 15 (38) ”.

² Vide my article on the *Date of Jagaddhara* JUB, IX, Pt. 2, pp. 116-125 There are 2 Mss. of Jagaddhara's comm. in Govt. Ori. Mss. Library Madras (Cata. XXI, 1918—Nos. 12421 and 12422).

³ Aufrecht: CC I, 652—Sivārāma quotes परिभाषेन्दुशेखर in the *Lakṣmīvilāsa* 9 “ which suffices to place him in the beginning of the 18th Century ”. Vide also S. K. De : *Sans. Poetics*, I, p. 318 ; and JAOS, XXIV, 57-63. The *Bib. Indica* Edn. of the *Vāsavadattā* (1859) includes Sivārāma's commentary. The editor Fitzedward Hall used three Mss. of this comm. for this edition (vide p. 44 of his *Preface*). Hall fixes the earlier limit for Sivārāma's date as A. D. 1373, the date of the lexicographer Mahīpa but observes that Sivārāma must be “ more modern ”.

⁴ Vide CC III, 120—“ AK 566 ” = No. 566 of 1891-95 (B. O. R. Institute). This Ms is called वासवदत्ताटिप्पनसार. It ends :—

“ यत्संक्षिप्तमतिश्रुष्टं क्लृप्तं चामूलभाषितं । तद्विधायमसौयत्नस्तेन
प्रीणातु मे हरिः ॥ इति रंगनाथोद्धतोवासवदत्ताटिप्पनसारः ॥ ६९ ॥ ”

(Continued on next page)

(7) *Prabhākara*¹—Before 1685 A. D. (His Cūṛṇikā is mentioned by Rāṅganātha).

(8) *Sarvarakṣita*²—Earlier than Sarvacandra.

(9) *Sarvacandra*—After A. D. 1300 and later than Sarvarakṣita.

In the IO Ms. No. 996 of Sarvacandra's commentary on the Vāsavadattā there is a reference to Vopadeva (fol. 52^a) who is, I think, identical with the grammarian Vopadeva, the protege of minister Hemādri (A. D. 1260). We may, therefore, fix A. D. 1300 or so as the earlier limit to Sarvacandra's date.⁸

(10) *Rāmadeva*⁴—Before A. D. 1470.

(continued from the previous page)

Rāṅganātha refers to the following works and authors :—धराणि, विश्व, भरत, चूर्णिकाव्याख्या (fol. 11), उत्पलिनी. Possibly चूर्णिकाव्याख्या mentioned by Rāṅganātha is the चूर्णिका by Prabhākara on Vāsavadattā (CC I, 566). Kielhorn records a Ms of चूर्णिका dated Samvat 1741 = A. D. 1685. (C. P. Mss. Cata, 1874, p. 76).

¹ Vide p. 48 of *Cata. of Sans. Mss.* (Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency, 1893), Ms. No. 100 described here by R. G. Bhandarkar is Prabhākara's comm. on वासवदत्ताद्वैतसिद्धान्त. This Ms. is dated Samvat 1903 = A. D. 1847. In the colophon the author is called “ मीमांसकवर्मभट्टप्रभाकर ”

² Vide CC II, 134—“ Stein 81 ”—No. 301. Sarvacandra in his वासवदत्ताटिप्पणी (I. O. Cata. VII, 1904, p. 1557) mentions “ रक्षितव्याख्या ” (fol. 61b). I presume that this is a reference to the commentary of Sarvarakṣita.

³ Sarvacandra quotes the following works and authors :—उत्तरतंत्र, उत्पलिनी धातुप्रदीप, नागरसर्वस्व, नीतिशास्त्र, भट्टशुभाङ्क, भागुरि, रक्षितव्याख्या, रत्नाकर (? वृत्तरत्नाकर), रत्निदेव, रसभ (? रभस), रुद्र, वामन, विंध्यवासिन्, बोपदेव, शब्दप्रकाश, शब्दार्णव, सरस्वती-कण्ठाभरण, सुभ्रुति. Many popular and vernacular terms are also met with in the commentary of Sarvacandra (Vide p. 1557 of I. O. Cata, VII, 1904).

⁴ Vide CCI, 566—तत्त्वकौमुदी comm. on Vāsavadattā by Rāmadeva L. 2434. This is the only Ms of the work which has been described by Rajendralal Mitra (p. 195 of *Notices*. VII, 1884). This Ms. was in the possession of one Babul Pathak of Mujanā (Zilla Darbhanga). It consisted of 48 folios and had an extent of 1584 Ślokas. Mitra points out that this commentary is not named by Hall in his Edition of the Vāsavadattā. This Ms. begins :—“ सजलजलदश्यामं पीतवाससमच्युतं । नन्दसूनुं नमस्कृत्य तन्यते तत्वकौमुदी ॥ ” Colophon:—इति श्रीरामदेवमिश्रविरचिता वासवदत्ताटीका तत्वकौमुदी समाप्ता । लसं ३५२ ॥ The date of the Ms. is Lakṣmaṇa Samvat Era 352 = A. D. 1470 (352+1118). If this date is correct Rāmadavamiśra is earlier than A. D. 1470.

A grammarian of the name रामदेवमिश्र is quoted in *Mādhaviya-Dhātuvṛtti* (c. A. D. 1350) according to Aufrecht (CC I, 515). Aufrecht also states that this grammarian is "Later than Haradatta." If this Haradatta is identical with Haradatta¹ the author of the *Padamanjari* (c. A. D. 1100) the date of Rāmadeva miśra mentioned in the *Mādhaviya-Dhātuvṛtti* must lie between A. D. 1100 and 1350. I am, however, unable to identify this latter रामदेवमिश्र with his namesake, the author of the तत्त्वकौस्तुभ commentary on the *Vāsavadattā*, the only Ms. of which is dated A. D. 1470. Perhaps it may be possible to identify these two authors at a later date.

(11) *Timmayasūri*²—This commentator hails from South India. I have no means of determining any limits for his date at present.

(12) *Narasimhasena*³—between A. D. 1450 and 1500 if he is

¹ Belvalkar : *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 40.

² Aufrecht (CC II, 133) notes one Ms. of Timmayasūri's commentary viz. "Govt. Ori. Ms. Library, Madras 84." The *Cata. of Madras Mss.*, XXI (1918), p. 8330 describes a Ms of Timmaya's comm. called दर्पण. In the colophon the author is styled as "कविकुललोकवन्द्य." The Ms. is written in Telugu characters. Aufrecht (CCI, 231) mentions one तिमम्य as the author of a commentary on Agastya's *Bālābhārata* (Burnell, 159b and Oppert II, 5745). The date of this तिमम्य is "beginning of the 16th Century." A third namesake of our commentator is mentioned as the author of a work called कृष्णभ्युदय. He is called तिमम्ययज्वन् (Vide p. 303 of Krishnamachariar: *Classical Sans. Literature*, 1937). The identity of these three commentators of the same name तिमम्य need to be studied with a view to fix their chronology.

³ Aufrecht (CC I, 566 and 278) records only one Ms of Vaidya Narasimhasena's commentary on *Vāsavadattā* viz. "Oxf. 156b" This Ms begins,—

"श्रीगुरुचरणाम्भोजं प्रणम्य पित्रोः पदं वैद्यः ।

वासवदत्ताटीकां विलसत् श्रीकां करोति नरसिंहः ॥"

Aufrecht also mentions (I, 278) an author of the name नरसिंहसेन, Son of तपन, Son of उमापति, father of विश्वनाथसेन, who composed पथ्यापथ्यावीनिश्चय (L 2939). The following points of identity between the two नरसिंहसेन may be recorded here. —

1. नरसिंहसेन a. of वासवदत्ताटीका—(1) He calls himself वैद्य. In the margin of the Oxford Ms he is called वैद्य नरसिंहसेन.

2. The Ms of his comm. is in Bengali Script.

(continued on next page)

identical with his namesake, whose son Viśvanāthasena was at the court of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa (A. D. 1497-1539). If this identity is corroborated by further evidence it will make this author of the Vasavadattā commentary a contemporary of Puruṣottamadeva (A. D. 1470-1497).

(13) *Trivikrama* -- ¹After about 1100 A. D.

(continued from the previous page)

II. नरसिंहसेन father of विश्वनाथसेन—(1) He is called नरसिंहसेन by his son विश्वनाथसेन:—

“ श्रीगौरीनरसिंहसेनतनयो निःशेषतन्त्रोद्भव ।

पथ्यापथ्याविनिश्चयं व्यतनुत श्रीविश्वनाथः सुधीः ।

(2) The Ms. of पथ्यापथ्याविनिश्चय is also in Bengali Script.

(3) विश्वनाथ was at the court of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa as stated in the colophon of पथ्यापथ्याविनिश्चय which reads as follows:—

इति श्रीसूर्यवंशावतसेन गजपातिप्रनापरुद्रेण प्रतिपादितः तपनमहापात्रेति द्विजपितामहनाम पदवी-
कस्य विश्वनाथसेनस्य कृतौ पथ्यापथ्याविनिश्चयः समाप्तः (Vide p. 49 of Mītra's *Notices*
Vol. IX, 1888). The solar dynasty (सूर्यवंश) to which Gajapati Pratāparudra
belonged ruled Orissa between A. D. 1435 and 1540 (Vide p. 213 of *Orissa*
in the Making by B. C. Mazumdar, Calcutta, 1925 Gajapati Pratāparudra
ruled from A. D. 1497 to A. D. 1539 (Vide p. 413 of Kane : *Hist. of Dharma*,
I). His predecessor Puruṣottama- deva ruled from A. D. 1470 to 1497. If
विश्वनाथसेन was at the court of Gajapati Pratāparudra between A. D. 1497 and
1539 we may safely presume that his father नरसिंहसेन was a contemporary of
Puruṣottamadeva between A. D. 1470 and 1497. I am inclined to believe that
the two persons of the same name नरसिंहसेन both of whom were Vaidyas of
Orissa or Bengal are identical.

¹ Aufrecht (CC I, 566) records a Ms of a commentary on the Vāsavadattā
called “ *Vyākhyāyikā* by Vikramarddhi Kavi, Burnell 162a.” This Ms has
been described in the *Des. Cata. of Tanjore Mss.*, Vol. VII (1939), pp.
3018-20 (Ms. No. 4020). The correct name of the author is not Vikrama-
rdhhi Kavi but त्रिविक्रम as stated in a verse at the beginning (त्रिविक्रमेण क्रियते
मेधाविकुलजन्मना). In the extract quoted in the *Tanjore Catalogue* (p. 3019)
there are some quotations from the lexicon हलयाध (c. 950 A. D.). We may
therefore, presume that this commentary is later than about 1100 A. D.
Perhaps an analysis of the only Ms of the work in the Tanjore library may
furnish better chronological limits for this author than what I can do at
present relying mainly on the particulars gathered from the Catalogues.
Madras Cata. XXI (1918) p. 8329 describes a Ms of Trivikrama's comment-
ary. *Adyar Mss. Catalogue* Part II (1928), page 2 mentions a Ms of this
commentary (29 G 5 प्र 105—त्रिविक्रमकृतः)

(14) *Śṛṅgāragupta*¹ —

शृंगारगुप्त mentions the names of his ancestors viz. नागगुप्त, हरिगुप्त धर्मगुप्त. धर्मगुप्त² appears to be the name of his father. It is difficult to locate the history of this family or identify these names in any contemporary works.

(15) *Sūkṣmadarśanā*³ (name of the commentator is not given). The name "Sūkṣmadarśin" recorded by Aufrecht as commentator's name appears to be incorrect.

³ Aufrecht (CC I, 566) records only one Ms of this commentary viz. "Report XII" = No. 186 of 1875-76 in the Govt. Mss Library (B. O. R. Inst.) This Ms begins:—

“ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीशारदायै नमः ॥

कथं वासवदत्ताख्यां सुबोधुर्या महाकविः ।

व्यधात् शृंगारगुप्तोऽस्याः करोति लघुपञ्चिकाम् ॥ ”

The Ms ends:—

“इति वासवदत्ताविवृतिः समाप्ता ।

कृतिरियं शृंगारगुप्तस्य इति शिवम् ॥

नागगुप्ताज्जातो हरिगुप्ताद्धर्मगुप्ततनयाद्यः ।

वासवदत्ताविवृतिं चकार शृंगारगुप्त इमामिति शिवम् ॥ ”

The *Cata. of Mithilā Mss*, Vol. II (1933, Patna) p. 141 records another Ms of लघुपञ्चिका (No. 137) of शृंगारगुप्त in Devanāgarī characters.

³ Aufrecht (CC I, 268) mentions one धर्मगुप्त (Son of रामदास) who wrote रामाङ्कनाटिका in A. D. 1860. (Bendall Cata. p. 87). This धर्मगुप्त appears to be different from his namesake mentioned by शृंगारगुप्त as his father or ancestor. An author of the name धर्मगुप्तमिश्र is mentioned in संक्षेपशंकरजय (Oxf. 258b). The name धर्मगुप्त appears to be an old one. धर्मगुप्त a Śramaṇa of Southern India translated several Buddhist works into Chinese between A. D. 590 and 616 (Vide p. 44 of Duff's *Chronology of India*). In an inscription of about the 6th Century A. D. from Gaya District, Bihar and Orissa, a Śākya mendicant of the name धर्मगुप्त is mentioned (Vide p. 246-No. 1738 of *Inscriptions of Northern India* (Epi. Ind. XX) by D. R. Bhandarkar.

⁴ Aufrecht (CC I, 134) records this commentary by the entry: "Comm. by सूक्ष्मदर्शिन Govt. Ori. Library, Madras, 84." See, however, p. 8331 of *Madras Catalogue*, Vol. XXI, (1918) where this Ms is described. The author prefers to remain anonymous while the name of the commentary is given as "सूक्ष्मदर्शना" in two verses in the colophon one of which reads as follows:—

“व्याख्या वासवदत्ताया रचिता येन केनचित् ।

कवित्तन्प्रमाथिव्याः समाप्ता सूक्ष्मदर्शना ॥ ”

(16) *Kāśīrāma*¹ — Before A. D. 1800.

(17) *Vāsavadattā-Sthūlatūtparyārtha*² — No information available.

In the foregoing brief record of commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā* I have not included some more commentaries found in Catalogues as they were anonymous. Scholars interested in the study of the *Vāsavadattā* may do well to study many of those commentaries, which though of later times are likely to throw unexpected light on some of the obscure words in the text of the *Vāsavadattā* which is full of words with double meanings and hence has taxed the heads of many commentators as would be seen from the numerous commentaries mentioned in this paper.

Hall in his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* (*Bib. Ind.* 1859) refers to the following commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā* :—

(1) *By Jagaddhara*—Hall had 7 Mss. of this commentary called तत्त्वदीपिनी, one of which was in Tailanga character. He gives the following estimate of Jagaddhara's commentary on comparing it with that of Śivarāma, published by him :—

(Preface p. 45) — "Jagaddhara, as compared with Śivarāma, though he oftener takes note of various readings is more diffuse, is equally fanciful, and resorts less frequently to authority in justification of his comments. His errors are freely exposed by his successor and not invariably with unexceptionable courtesy. As I understand from his introduction he was not the first annotator

¹ Aufrecht (CC III, 120) records only one Ms of this commentary viz. "I. O. 543." The description of this Ms. as recorded on p. 1556 of India Office Catalogue, VII, 1904 states that the Ms contains detached annotations on the text hardly deserving the name of a commentary. The Ms. ends:— "इति श्री काशीरामवाचस्पतिकृता वासवदत्ताटीका समाप्ता." The paper on which the Ms is written is European (bearing "water-mark 1805"). The Ms. is written in Bengali characters. One काशीराम, son of Nyāyālaṃkāra wrote a commentary on the आत्मप्रकाशक of नन्दरामतर्कवागीश (Vide p. 768-9 of *I. O. Cata.* IV, 1894). I am not sure if this काशीराम is identical with the commentator of the *Vāsavadattā*.

² Aufrecht (CC III, 120) records only one Ms. of this commentary. It is described in *I. O. Mss. Catalogue* VII, 1904, p. 1558 (No. 4080). The Ms. is written on European paper by one Bholānātha Śarmaṇ of Vīraṇagara-grāma. No details about the work or author are recorded in the Catalogue.

of Subandhu--None older, however, seems to be now known."¹

(2) *By Narasimha*--Hall had only one Ms of this commentary. Particulars about this author and his work as given by Hall may be briefly noted here :--

(i) *N* (= Narasimha) was a physician.

(ii) *N* was presumably a native of Bengal.

(iii) The Ms. of *N*'s commentary with Hall was in Bengali characters.

(iv) *N*'s commentary is of small value as it deals more with figures of rhetoric than with any thing else.

(v) Nothing positive can be said about *N*'s age.²

(vi) One of his few authorities is उत्तरतन्त्र.³

(vii) "He may have succeeded⁴ Jagaddhara and Śivarāma and he probably did but he does not allude to them while he speaks of one विद्यासागर in a manner to induce the conjecture that he may once have laboured as an interpreter of our story."

¹ Hall states that the date of Jagaddhara can be determined from the following quotations in his works :--

(1) गीतगोविन्द, (2) धातुसंग्रह, (3) शब्दभेद, (4) शब्दप्रकाश, (5) रत्नावली, (6) उत्तरतन्त्र, (7) बल, (8) विन्ध्यवासिन् and (9) मत्तनाग. Speaking of शब्दप्रकाश Hall observes:-- "I have seen an imperfect copy of a शब्दप्रकाश which was digested by some Muhammadan of note, vaguely spoken of as "खान नृपति." The copy was transcribed in *Samvat 1575*" (= A. D. 1519). *Preface*, p. 46. शब्दभेद is a part of शब्दभेदप्रकाश which is a supplement to विश्वप्रकाश of महेश्वर (A. D. 1111). Vide p. xxvii of Intro. to *Kalpadrakoṣa* I (1928. Baroda), *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva is assigned to the 13th century (Vide p. 219 of S. K. De's *Poetics*, Vol. I). I have tried to prove in my article on Jagaddhara's date that he flourished after A. D. 1300. This earlier limit harmonises with Jagaddhara's reference to गीतगोविन्द pointed out by Hall and also with the fact that Jagaddhara wrote a commentary on the *Gītagovinda* of which there are several Mss (See *Mithilā Mss Cata.* II, 1933, Patna and *Des. Cata. of Madras Mss.*, XX, p. 7997).

² Vide my remarks about Narasimhasena made on pp. 138-139 (foot-note) of this paper.

³ This work उत्तरतन्त्र which appears to have been a vocabulary now lost has been mentioned by many commentators of the *Vāsavadattā* like नारायण दीक्षित, जगद्गुर, author of विदग्धवल्लभा, सर्वचन्द्र, etc.

⁴ My evidence tends to support the following chronology for these commentators :--

जगद्गुर	नरसिंहसेन	शिवराम
(A. D. 1300-1400)	(A. D. 1450-1500)	(A. D. 1700-1725)

(3) By Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde— Hall states that a rumour had reached him of a third commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* by Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde.¹ In the list of this author's numerous works recorded by Aufrecht² no mention of his commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* is found. Satischandra Vidyabhushan in his *History of Indian Logic* (1921) p. 486 states that "Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde was a Maratha who wrote a gloss on *Gadādhari* called गदाधरीकाशिका and one on Śrīromaṇi's तत्त्वचिन्तामणि while residing at Benares where he died about 150 years age. The gloss has been printed in Telugu characters."

It would be seen from the above remarks of Hall on the commentators of the *Vāsavadattā* that their number as known to Hall was three only while in our present paper we have indicated the existence in Ms form of about 20 commentaries. It is now almost 90 years since Hall edited the *Vāsavadattā* but no serious study of the commentaries on this important text has been undertaken by scholars. I trust therefore, that my present survey of the probable chronology of some of these commentaries and indication of the Ms. material with regard to each commentary would direct

1 In the foot-note on p. 47 of *Preface* Hall describes this author as "A Maratha of Benares; Son of Raṅganātha and pupil of one Hari. Among his works are huge commentaries on the निर्णयसिन्धु, गदाधरी and जगदीशी. The second is called काशिका or गदाधरीविवृति; and the third मञ्जूषा or जगदीशतोषिणी. The गदाधरी is by गदाधरभट्टाचार्य. The जगदीशी by जगदीशतर्कालंकारभट्टाचार्य. They annotated respectively the whole and a part of the दीपवित्ति of रघुनाथशिरोमणिभट्टाचार्य, which consists of notes on the first two sections of गंगेश उपाध्याय's तत्त्वचिन्तामणि, a celebrated treatise of Nyāya philosophy."

2 CCI, pp. 118-119—Aufrecht states that कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे was the son of रघुनाथ, brother of नारायण, pupil of हरि, of Benares. About 74 works of this author are recorded by Aufrecht. In CC. II, 23 and CC. III 26 he is called son of रंगनाथ. In CC. II, 114 we are told that one रङ्गनाथ आर्डे son of महादेव wrote दशकुमारचरित-पूर्वपटिकासार (Stein 81). If this रंगनाथ is the father of कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे the genealogy of this author would be:—

महादेव → Son रंगनाथ → Son कृष्णभट्ट (आर्डे)

If Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa died 150 years ago i. e. about A. D. 1771 according to S. Vidyabhushan the date of रंगनाथ would be about A. D. 1745 while महादेव would have the date A. D. 1720 or so. This probable chronology as also the genealogy recorded above needs further verification from the works of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa and other sources. Perhaps "आर्डे" is a Deśastha Brāhmin Surname.

the attention of scholars to this problem at no distant date so that some of these commentaries may be published by them gradually.¹

¹ So far the following editions of the *Vāsavadattā* have appeared :—

(1) *Text* with comm. by Pt. R. V. Krishnamachariar, Vanivilas Press, Shrirangam, 1906.

(2) *Text* with a Critical [Sanskrit] comm. by T. V. Shrinivasachariar, Trichinopoly, St. Joseph's Press, 1906.

(3) *Text*, translated by Louis H. Gray, Columbia University Press, New York 1918 (contains a reprint in Roman characters of the Madras edition of the Southern text 1862) *Indo-Iranian Series*.

(4) *Text* with comm. of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin (*Bib. Indica*, 1859) ed. by Hall, Calcutta.

(5) *Text* with Śivarāma's comm., Edited by Jivananda Vidyasāgara (Calcutta, 1874).

6) Do-with J. Vidyasagara's commentary, 3rd Edition, Calcutta, 1907,

MISCELLANEA.

WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF 'SŪTRA-VṚTTI'?

Some time back, the Gujarathi Press of Bombay published an edition of the work 'Sūtra-vṛtti' which is a short commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras, and is, according to the Title-page of the printed book, also called 'Advaita-mañjarī'. The name of the author of this work, however, seems to be not known to the editor or publisher. It is given simply as a work by a disciple of Śrīmat Śaṅkarācārya.

Only a few days back, my friend Mr. V. A. Garud of the Prarthana Samaj, Poona, showed me a ms. of this Sūtra-vṛtti, which throws light on the authorship of the work: The last colophon reads—इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य श्रीवासुदेवेन्द्रमुनिवर्यचरणारविन्द-मकरंदमधुव्रतश्रीसाम्बसदाशिवप्रेरितश्रीज्ञानेन्द्रस्वामीविरचितवैय्यासिकब्रह्ममीमांसा-मात्रसारसंग्रहे वैदिकोक्तविद्वज्जनमनोहरे मंदबुध्यास्तिकभागधेयपुरुषार्थसुधानिधौ-चतुर्थोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ ४ ॥ It is curious that Aufrecht too, mentions only a ज्ञानेन्द्रस्वामिन् as being the author of ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थप्रदीपिका.

This colophon, which has no trace in the printed edition, is followed by some Ślokas :

विश्वेश्वरो हि सुधिया गलिते विभेदे
भावेन भक्तिसहितेन समर्चनीयः ।
प्राणेश्वरो दयितया मिलितेऽपि चित्ते
चैलांचलव्यवहितेन निरीक्षणीयः ॥ १ ॥
एकैव शक्तिः परमेश्वरस्य
भिन्ना चतुर्धा व्यवहारकाले ।
भोगे भवानी समरेषु दुर्गा
कार्येषु काली पुरुषेषु विष्णुः ॥ २ ॥

—and last comes the name of the scribe with the date : शके १७८७ क्रोधनाद्वे माघे मासे सितपक्षे तिथौ नवम्यां गुरुवासरे तद्दिने प्रातःकालसमये लेखन सूत्रवृत्तिः समाप्तः ।.....इदं सू. वृ. पुस्तकं अद्वैतमज वामनोपनाम मोडकं स्वार्थ-परमार्थः (sic !) लेखकाभिधानः गोविंदात्मज हरीउपनाम भालेरायेन लिखितं ॥

The first page of this Ms. bears (?) the owner's autograph 'Vaman Abbaji Modak' in English and Marathi. He is known to be a great Sanskrit scholar of the last century.

S. N. Tadpatrikar

REVIEWS

WHAT WAS THE ORIGINAL GOSPEL IN 'BUDDHISM'?

by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., M. A. The Epworth Press,
(Edgar C. Barton), 25-35 City Road, London, E. C. 1.
Pp. 144 (including Index). Price 3s, 6d. net. [1938].

Since the last few years the conviction has been growing upon Mrs. Rhys Davids, who needs no introduction to students of Buddhism, that what passes today under the general name of Buddhism is based upon the perverted *Monastic* interpretations of Gotama's teachings, presented to us in the form of the Pali Tri-pitaka, and that the original teaching, which must have been (according to the author) more positive and optimistic in its outlook on life, did not contain some of those points, which are generally supposed to form the essential doctrines of Buddhism. One of her earlier contributions to this problem about the Original Gospel in Buddhism was her article on "Judgement by Default" (Visva-Bharati Quarterly (New Series), II. 1.), which has been reprinted as an Appendix to the present volume.

Without going in to all the claims, put forward by the learned author, which have been briefly summed up in the last chapter of the book, we may say in general that, if some of the conclusions arrived at here about the Original Gospel are justified, the interpretations of the original teachings, as they are found even today in some of the Mahāyāna schools of Buddhism will have to be accepted as much more faithful and authoritative than those of the Pali Hīnayāna. This is putting it rather bluntly, especially when Mrs. Rhys Davids herself attempts to go behind both the Yāna's to the original source of them. Her contentions, however, are so thoroughgoing, that with the few traces that she has been able to discover of Gotama's "New Word" in the present Pali Canon, after much seeking for the original meanings of words, much pondering over the essential conditions under which every new religion starts its career, and after much reading between the lines, it will not be surprising, if she, on turning her attention one day to the so-called Northern ten-

dancies of Buddhistic thought, finds in them a support more ample and convincing than what could ever be expected from such fine sifting of evidence as is testified to in her present treatment of the subject. It is a well known fact, that the Bodhisattva doctrine in Mahāyāna does emphasize 'the More, the Higher' in man rather than 'the Less, the Ill' in him.

The assumptions of Mrs. Rhys Davids, however, regarding the essential nature of every religion, which she expects to find corroborated in the nooks and corners of the Pali Canon, may not be all true. In her attempt to interpret the original gospel as having a definitely positive aspect she has obviously gone too far in denying the conception of the *anātma* as forming a part of Gotama's teaching. The later Vijñānavāda school, rooted as it seems in the old Sthāvirīya tradition, does envisage an approach to a positivistic tendency, almost verging upon the boundaries of the soul-philosophy of the Vedāntists; and yet there is a gulf between these two which simply cannot be bridged. The *viññāna* does occupy in it the foremost place among the constituent elements of a personality and the author's surmise, that it did so in the original gospel, is perfectly justified; but it is far from being the Self. Because behind every conceivable phenomenon the Buddhist thought maintains an untarnished background of Relativity (*śūnyatā*), which, if denied, would merge the Buddhist thought into non-Buddhistic ways of philosophizing.

Paucity of evidence leads to farfetched conclusions and although we have been shown enough here by way of discrepancies and inner contradictions to convince us by this one more method of research, that the Pali Canon does not always faithfully represent the original teaching of Gotama, but is an organized presentation of how the later pessimistic monasticism understood it, the frequent attempt made here to discover new meanings in old words by shifting the emphasis, e. g. by explaining that the teaching about "seeing Ill" must have implied an exhortation to "seek the Well", and then holding up the latter as the true import and the former as monastic jugglery, can neither be called convincing, nor laudable in a scientific sense.

The publication maintains the best traditions of the British Press.

Vasudev Gokhale

PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA, a survey of ancient India based on the Jātaka stories.—by Ratilal Metha, M.A. ; Bombay Examiner Press. (1939) Pp. xvi, 461. Price Rs. 15.

This ponderous volume is “ a revised form of the thesis, submitted to the University of Bombay for the M.A. degree in 1935 ” and is prepared under the guidance of Rev. H. Heras S.J., who in his Foreword has expressed his conviction about the high antiquity of the Jātak stories in the following terms: “ These stories undoubtedly depict conditions and situations of a period of time prior to that of the revered teacher ” (i. e. the Buddha). “About the historicity of these stories we cannot doubt at present. The very incidental way in which they are narrated, is a guarantee of their trustworthiness and accuracy ” (p. vi). Mr. Metha has obviously started upon his journey with convictions and guarantees, which are yet to be proved and accepted.

During the course of his studies, Mr. Metha comes to know of the several strata in the composition of these stories, which, he admits, “ are decidedly of different periods—from the Vedic down to the 5th century A. D. ” (p. xxv). And yet he must defend the thesis, that the Jātaka stories are not merely ancient, but “ pre-Buddhistic. ” The pangs of conscience, which Mr. Metha feels in having to declare unwillingly, that the hypothesis has been proved, have been expressed in a passage in his preface (p. ix), which is also typical of the loose and unscientific reasoning, characterizing most of his work. It runs thus: “ My claim to these stories as ‘ being a faithful representation of the pre-Buddha period will particularly be questioned. The fear of uncertain ground on which I was standing at first prevented me from giving the title which has been given to this work, and I thought it wise to make myself secure by vaguely describing the work as *Ancient India in the Jātakas*. But repeated reading of the book, page after page, while plodding through the unending proofs, reassured me and finally encouraged me in giving the present title.....But I take consolation in the fact, that there was after all very little possibility of change in the general *milieu* of

Ancient Indian life within a few centuries, as its persistent conservatism is only too wellknown." This looks more like self-hypnotization than research !

Mr. Metha has undoubtedly spent an amount of labour in collecting and marshalling in different sections the manifold data, found in the Jātaka stories in order to arrive at a political, administrative, economic, social and geographaical survey of ancient India. It is unfortunate, however, that all this detailed inquiry has led to no important or reliable conclusions, owing mainly to a lack of the proper historical perspective and to dependence upon secondrate authorities.

Misprints are few, while the general getup of the book is enviable.

Vasudev Gokhale

EARLY BUDDHIST JURISPRUDENCE by Miss Durga N.
Bhagvat, published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona.

This book is the revised edition of the authoress's thesis for the Master's Degree of the University of Bombay and has been published as one of the Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. The book has been accompanied by coloured illustrations and a map of Buddhist India. As a first attempt on the part of a post-graduate student, the book may be welcomed, although one may remark that under better guidance one could have expected a better production from the authoress. Inaccurate statements, wrong interpretations, wrong references, clumsy and hopelessly bad transliterations could easily have been avoided under proper guidance. The statement about the date of the Second Council on p. 77 and that about the hour of meal on p. 147, the wrong use of *Āṅgula-kappa* for *Dvaṅgula-kappa* on p. 80, wrong interpretation (following European translators) of the Pali expression '*attadīpā*' by 'Be lamps unto themselves or yourselves' on pp. 86, 90, hopeless transliterations as on pp. 42 n. 2, 119 n. 2, wrong references as on p. 130 n. 1. to *Dhammapad* verse 3, and on p. 105 note 1 to Mrs. Rhys Davids and Aung instead of Rhys Davids and Maung Tin as the authors of the *Expositor* etc. are illustrations in point. In the expression '*attadīpā Bhikkhave viharatha*' the word '*dīpa*' is not used in the sense of 'a lamp' but in the sense of 'an island (*dvīpa*).' This is clear from the succeeding word '*atta-saraṇā*.' Also *Dhammapada* verse 25 corroborates the same interpretation.

One also fails to see why the authoress has chosen the present title. Another like '*Monastic Institutions of the Early Buddhists*' would have been more appropriate. The book has been divided into nine chapters of which the first and the last reflect credit on the authoress. The first gives a careful survey of the Brahmanical literature showing the origins of the Buddhist monastic institutions from the Brahmanical ones. The second chapter dealing with the offences against *Vinaya* Laws gives in detail the sexual offences also, many of which may be

hypothetical and not necessarily real. The Law-Books have to consider not only the real offences but also hypothetical ones under imaginary conditions. The next three chapters deal with the origin, evolution and promulgation of the Vinaya Laws. The following chapters give the Jurisprudence under the Vinaya, describe the Pātimokkha and the fortnightly meetings, and deal with the administration of the Laws under the Sangha. One also wished that the authoress had given exact references to Sanskrit passages quoted about kulapati and upavāsa on pp. 125 and 134 respectively.

Let us hope that the authoress continues to work under an expert Guide (Kalyāṇa-Mitra) who would be able to give a really effective help in the proper field which she has selected for her work.

P. V. Bapat

ALAṆKĀRAMANJŪŚĀ OF BHATTA DEVAŚĀṆKARA
PUROHITA. Scindia Oriental Series No. I. Ujjain,
Oriental Manuscript library 1940. Edited by S. L.
Katre, M.A.

This manual of Alaṅkāra which is intended, according to the modest claim of its author, for the instruction of the beginner (बालव्युत्पत्तिहेतवे) is mainly based upon the Kuvalayānanda of Appayyadiṣṭa, and except for its illustrations and a few discussions regarding the nature of certain figures of speech or the elaborate disquisition at the close on the true nature of Alaṅkāra in general—which by the by is couched in the pedantic verbiage of the Naiyāyikas and makes more noise than sense—lays very little claim to originality in matter or presentation.

As the learned editor points out, the present work is one of those peculiar treatises which achieve two ends in one—"kill two birds with one stone;"—for while they give the treatment of the subject-matter in the same way as the other works in the line, their illustrations are more or less exclusively eulogies of one or more contemporary royal heroes. So like the Ekāvali of Vidyādhara, or the Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa of Vidyānātha, the present work is written by its author to glorify his patron—Peshwa Mādhavarao I of Poona, his uncle Raghunātharao, and his brother Nārāyanarao. But unlike these two which deal with all the topics of poetics, the present work confines itself to only one topic—that of the Arthālaṅkāras. As pointed out by the learned editor, the Kārikās (embodying the definitions etc.) and their prose explanations are generally based on the corresponding passages in the Kuvalayānanda. Many of the technical discussions are nothing but paraphrases, abridged or enlarged, of the corresponding portions in the Kuvalayānanda; while many of the verses, too, illustrating the figures of speech, though the author's composition, yet derive their main idea from the verses in the original.

The work is, however, not quite sterile of poetry and makes delightful reading. Here is a specimen of a very fine श्लोकोपमा :

गुणसंयुक्तं दोषं शरमिव कर्षन्महाशयेन त्वम् ।
उज्झसि शरमिव दोषं गुणं तु कर्णान्तिकं नयसे ॥

“With your powerful mind you comprehend vice and virtue, as with your long arm (महाशयेन) you draw an arrow fixed on the bow-string; still vice, you discard like the arrow, but give ear to virtue as to the bow-string”.

Here is bold conceit :—

ध्रुवं विधात्रा पृथुसूर्यदीपे न्युञ्जीकृतोऽदो गगनं कटाहः ।
ततः सखलक्कज्जलराशिवर्षैः किं भूयते सर्वदिगन्तरेषु ॥

“Verily the sky is a frying-pan turned downwards by the Creator on the huge Sun-camp. Are these raining masses of the lamp-black falling down therefrom in all directions?” It is possible to multiply such instances, which go to prove that the writer did possess a lively sense of poetry.

Although, therefore, the work is merely a slavish imitation of its original, it shows in a few places a remarkable independence of judgement when it criticises, modifies, or rejects the views of Appayyadiṣṭa; and other writers in the field. Thus, for instance, after half-heartedly admitting the figure of speech “Lalitopamā” of Jayadeva, which Appayya rejects, our author raises the question that if the attribution of the qualities of the Upamāna to the Upameya is “Lalitopamā” then the reverse i.e. the attribution of the qualities of the Upameya to the Upamāna ought to give us “Lalitapratipa”, though Jayadeva includes both under “Lalitopamā”.

The work, in many places, is blemished by metrical and grammatical faults, and the editor is right when he asserts that as the writer was primarily a logician and only secondarily a poet, he has allowed these faults to creep into his work. As a historical record, the value of the work is considerably diminished by the general character of the eulogy, and also by the fact that the three Mss. do not generally agree with each other as to the identity of the Peshwa glorified in any particular verse. The work, therefore, has very little value as a source-book of history, but offers corroborative evidence for certain facts and beliefs established on the strength of approved historical records. Thus to mention but one instance, the author

refers to the separation from the Peshwa, of Raghunātharao, who for some time was the regent of the new Peshwa Mādhavarao I. That this is a fact is well-known in history and is indirectly confirmed by our poet's allusion to it in a casual illustration. It also gives a somewhat exaggerated picture of the life of ease and luxury, of the sense of security enjoyed by the people and of the munificence of the Peshwas of Poona.

Devaśaṅkara, the author hailed from Rānder near Surat and shifted his abode to another town, Uraḥpattana (Olpād). His father's name was Nāhanābhai, his surname Purohita and his title Bhaṭṭa. From these names it is evident that his family is one of Gujarati priests. There is no evidence that he was at any time permanently connected with the Poona court. Nowhere has he even hinted at his being a court-poet of the Peshwas or even his residing in Poona. It is possible to extract a few autobiographical details from some passages as shown by the editor. He was also the author of a work entitled "Viśvāsarāyayuddhavarṇana" which is frequently alluded to in this work, and of a commentary on the Amaruśataka.

The editor deserves our warmest congratulations on his having brought out this hitherto unknown work on Alaṅkāra. In his masterly introduction, he has critically discussed several points raised above, and altogether it is a valuable contribution to Sanskrit lore.

C. R. Devadhar

BHĀSHĀ--PARICCHEDA, with Siddhānta-muktāvali. Translated into English by Swami Mādhavānanda, with an Introduction by Dr. S. Mookerjee of the Āshrama, Mayavati Almora, Himālayas. Crown: xxv, 282. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

We heartily welcome this English translation of the renowned Nyāya work which is better known under the title of its commentary, the Siddhānta-muktāvali. A student of Nyāya, after his preliminary acquaintance with the subject through Tarkasamgraha or Tarkabhāṣā, passes on to the scholastic works like the Chintāmapī through the intermediate stage of the Siddhānta-muktāvali. Majority of the Nyāya students halt at the Muktāvali. As day by day the shāstric learning is disappearing, students of Nyāya are really inconvenienced by the absence of such a translation. Dr. Strauss has already translated this work into German. We congratulate the translator on having brought out this English translation, which will go a long way to facilitate and popularise the study of the Nyāya.

The book gives Sanskrit originals of the Kārikās of the Bhāṣāpariccheda, but not the text of the Muktāvali, which appears to us a great handicap. We hope the translator will add this in his second edition.

The translation is lucid and accurate, notes are copious and to the point, while the Introduction by Dr. S. Mookerji, discussing the historical and philosophical questions, and the Glossary and Index at the end enhance the value of the work very considerably. We commend the book to every student of Nyāya.

R. D. Vadekar



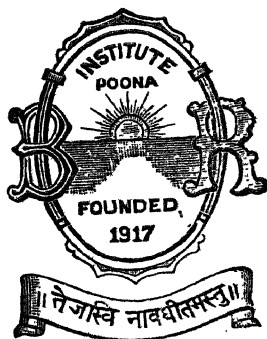
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A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, M.A.,

AND

R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., Ph.D.



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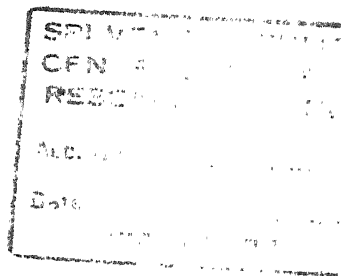
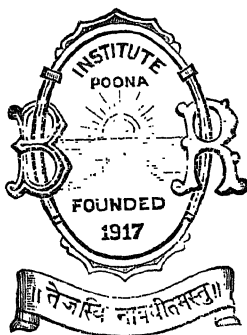
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Sir George Abraham Grierson

Born on
7-1-1851]

[Died on
8-3-1941

Photo by courtesy of Dr. R. N. SARDESAL,
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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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APRIL - JULY 1940

[PARTS III-IV

“ *ASURA VARUNA* ” *

BY

R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

Paradoxical as it may seem, one will all the same be justified in saying that the Vedic researches have been the earliest and the richest among the indological researches and still the unsolved Vedic problems are greatest in number among the indological problems. Particularly the field of Vedic mythology cannot be said even now to have been fully and satisfactorily exploited. The *asura* Varuna, for example, is the most august and greatly elevated divinity in the pantheon of Vedic gods and still his essential character remains enigmatic. This paradox may appear to be still more striking ! What is it that gave Varuna the exalted position which he holds in the *Rgveda* (RV.) ? Why, inspite of the comparatively smaller number of hymns dedicated to his praise, is he regarded, by the side of Indra, as the greatest of the gods of the RV ? Why, again, in certain cases, is he represented to be far superior to Indra--sometimes even as the God among gods ?

Broadly speaking any hypothesis regarding the essential nature of a Vedic god, in order to be proper and correct, must fulfil the following conditions :

(1) We ought to be in a position to present, on the basis of that hypothesis, a complete picture of that god as far as possible

* Paper read at the B. O. R. Institute on 26th September 1940.

consistent with his essential characteristics, as described in the Veda, his peculiar relation with other Vedic gods and the main conceptions with which he is associated, in a special way, in the Veda.

(2) From the point of view of the history of religion, the hypothesis must normally make it possible to connect that god satisfactorily with the indo-germanic (idg) religious thought. If, however, the conception underlying that god were to be regarded as the result of foreign influence or purely as an indigenous growth, that fact too must be historically explainable.

(3) The hypothesis must further make it possible to account reasonably for the later modifications in the nature of that god in the classical Indian mythology.

(4) Finally the hypothesis must be based on sound philological grounds. Since 'mythology is but an old form of language' all conclusions regarding the god's personality ought to be corroborated by definite linguistic facts.

It is intended here to make a fresh approach to the Varuṇa-problem on these lines.

Let us first try to present, in a general way, a connected picture of Varuṇa and his greatness, through a constructive analysis of the Vedic hymns directly addressed to him as well as other Vedic references.¹

Varuṇa is preeminently called the *asura* (I. 35. 7 ; II. 27. 10 ; VII. 65.2 ; VIII. 42.1) and is often glorified as the upholder of the cosmic law—*ṛta* (I. 23.5). He is *ṛtasya gopā* or *ṛtavān* par excellence. His ordinances are constantly said to be fixed, which fact gives him the significant title—*dhṛtāvṛata*. He is the regulator of waters (II. 28.4 ; V. 85. 6 ; VII. 64. 2) ; indeed all natural phenomena are controlled and directed by this god. The gods themselves follow Varuṇa's law (VIII. 41. 7) and are incapable of obstructing in any way the proper conduct of that law. The divine dominion of Varuṇa is often referred to with the word *māyā*, occult power. On account of this *māyā*, Varuṇa wields

¹ The following Vedic references, among others, are particularly representative of Varuṇa's personality and true nature :—

I. 24 ; I. 25 ; V. 67. 1-2 ; VII. 86 ; VII. 87 ; VII. 88 ; VIII. 41 ; VIII. 42 ; X. 124. 3-4 ; AV. 16. About AV. IV. 16, Roth remarks : ' There is no hymn in the whole Vedic literature which expresses the divine omniscience in such forceful terms as this ' ; Macnicol adds : ' and it would not be easy to find in any literature many passages to surpass it in this respect. '

supreme sovereignty over the whole universe, which is said to have been originally created by him. He is the imperial ruler, *samrāj*, of all, both gods and men (X. 132.4; II. 27.10), of the whole world (V. 85.3) and of all that exists. Not even the slightest activity in nature and in human and animal life passes unnoticed by him. The rising and the setting of the sun, the falling of rains, the growth of vegetation, the flowing of rivers, the flying of birds, even the winking of the eye are governed by the subtly working law of Varuṇa. In his capacity of the world-sovereign, Varuṇa is said to be commanding a large band of spies (I. 24.13; VI. 67.5; VII. 61.3; VII. 87.3), who being undeceived, undismayed and wise, observe keenly all the happenings in the universe and report to their master, without delay, any cases of lapse against and transgression of that law. The overlord, Varuṇa, himself has the sun for his eye. (I. 115.1; VI. 51.1; VII. 61.1), so that he can supervise unobstructedly the happenings in the universe and the activities of human beings. Varuṇa's golden abode is in the highest heaven (V. 67.2); there he occupies his seat, which is great, very lofty, and firm on account of a thousand columns. It is the duty of the all-seeing sun, together with other spies, to go to the dwelling of Varuṇa and report the deeds of men (VII. 60.1). Varuṇa is the un-failing witness of men's truth and falsehood (VII. 49.3). He perceives all that exists within heaven and earth and all that is beyond; none can escape from Varuṇa by fleeing even far beyond the sky (AV. IV. 16. 4-5).

This vast expanse of the world is not an irregular chaos. It is bound down by the *pāśa* of Varuṇa into a well-regulated whole. It is cosmos. The law of Varuṇa—*ṛta*—works in a subtle but most effective manner throughout the universe. This is indeed the *māyā* of the great *asura* ! And if any perpetrator of crime against this cosmic law—and, by logical extension, also against the moral law—is found, he is forthwith punished with the *pāśa* of Varuṇa. The *pāśa* of Varuṇa, which thus seems to be serving a double purpose, is positively an exclusive feature of that god. The great *asura* is, therefore, approached in great awe, and prayers for mercy are addressed to him. But this world-sovereign, characterised by all the glory of an oriental ruler, is often very relentless in matters pertaining to the proper conduct

of his law. It is Varuṇa who creates the universe and guards the cosmic law. As a moral governor also Varuṇa stands far above any other deity. He is the strongest barrier against every type of falsehood. This ethical idealisation is perhaps the most outstanding feature of Varuṇa's personality. His epithets, *asura māyin*, *dhṛtavrata*, *ṛtavān* etc. point to the same essential nature.

Another significant peculiarity of Varuṇa is his special association with Mitra and the Ādityas. Mitra and Varuṇa are often inseparably bound to each other; and Varuṇa is represented, in the Veda, as the highest among the Ādityas. Together with them he forms an independent circle of Vedic divinities, to whom is principally entrusted the guardianship of law--cosmic and moral. Their main characteristic is not the achievement of enormous exploits, as in the case of Indra; they govern the law which regulates the whole universe. A very striking parallel of this circle of Vedic gods is found in the Avestan religion where Ahura Mazdah, Mithra and Amesha Spentas also form a similar group. They too represent the supreme heavenly sovereignty.

The eminence of Varuṇa as the creator of the universe, as the world-sovereign, as the protector of law, and as the moral governor of mankind, had developed, in the Veda, to such an enormous extent that there naturally arose a unique rivalry for supremacy between him and Indra, the other paramount god of the Vedic pantheon. Several Vedic references are indicative of this rivalry which forms unquestionably one of the most important features of the Vedic mythology. It may be mentioned, in this context, that in marked contrast with Indra and many other Vedic gods, Varuṇa has no myths related of him; consequently the anthropomorphism of his personality is more fully developed on the spiritual rather than the physical side.

The personality of Varuṇa is shrouded, in the Veda, with a mysterious and majestic grandeur. His unapproachable magnificence and awe-inspiring power, his inexorable austerity and incomprehensibly divine wisdom inspire the Vedic seer to an anxious but commanding worship and self-abnegation rather than to expressions of frank and friendly confidence. All traces of human weakness that are clearly perceptible in the character of Indra are conspicuously absent in Varuṇa's character. The seer of a Vedic passage seems to have summarised substantially the

true Vedic character of Varuṇa when he says of him, सतो अस्य राजा (VII. 87.6.).

What conclusions regarding the personality and the essential nature of Varuṇa can be drawn from the Vedic evidence adduced above? Does Varuṇa, like many other Vedic gods, represent any power of nature and, if so, which? Can we trace the conception underlying this god to other idg. religions? How did the personality of this god develop in the later Hindu mythology?

Before directly approaching these problems regarding the Vedic god, Varuṇa, in a constructive manner, we may begin by critically examining the several earlier theories about Varuṇa by applying to them the tests mentioned above.

The most common view, put forth by scholars like Roth, Darmesteter, Hopkins, Bohnenberger, L. von Schröder and Bloomfield, is to regard Varuṇa as the sky-god. Even Hillebrandt had originally subscribed to this view, though he later on revised his opinion. This theory is mainly based on the name Varuṇa, which is derived by these scholars from the root *vr*, 'to cover' or 'to encompass'. To the simple minds of the ancient peoples, it was argued by them, the sky actually seemed to be covering or encompassing the earth and all that it contained. Those ancient people accepted unhesitatingly the impressions conveyed to them by their senses and the blue vault of the sky was for them actually a vault, solid and immutable, covering everything. It was further believed that this theory was substantially corroborated by the apparent identity, from the philological point of view, of the two names, Varuṇa and Ouranos, the Greek sky-god. Varuṇa was, according to these scholars, none other than the Vedic counterpart of Greek Ouranos. There was, however, already one sky-god in the Vedic pantheon, namely Dyaus. This god can be shown, on the strength of philological and mythological evidence, to have been common to almost all idg. religions. What then was the necessity of a second sky-god? Schröder explains this contingency by saying that Dyaus and Varuṇa represent two different aspects of the sky. Dyaus represents the bright and shining day-sky, while in Varuṇa, the pervading and the all-encompassing nature of the sky is particularly emphasised. Varuṇa may be said to be the 'firmament' in contrast to Dyaus, which is the 'shining sky.'

Since this encompassing or pervading nature is conspicuously realisable through the starry vault of the night-sky, Varuṇa is closely associated with the night in RV-hymns. It was suggested by Schröder that when Indians and Iranians lived together as one common cultural group, they glorified a sky-god as the creator of the universe. Varuṇa and Ahura Mazdah, whose common mythological heritage can hardly be questioned, are the two independent developments of this original Aryan god. RV.-passages like

स क्षपः परि षस्वजे न्युस्रो मायया दधे
 स विश्वं परिदर्शतः ।
 तस्य वेनीरनु व्रतं उषास्तिस्त्रो अवर्धयन्
 नभन्तामन्यके समे ॥ (VIII. 41.3)
 परि धामानि मर्त्यशद्वरुणस्य पुरो गये ।
 विश्वे देवा अनु व्रतं नभन्तामन्यके समे ॥ (VIII. 41.7)
 तिस्रो द्यावो निहिता अन्तरस्मिन्
 तिस्रो मूर्तीरुपराः षड्विधानाः ।
 युस्तो राजा वरुणश्चक्र एतं
 दिवि प्रेङ्क्षे हिरण्यं शुभे कम् ॥ (VII. 87.5)

however would clearly indicate that the Vedic Varuṇa is definitely closer in conception to that original sky-god of the Aryans. Ahura Mazdah, on the other hand, was, in later times, greatly spiritualised and idealised by Zarathusthra in his reform-movement. Bortholomae, Darmesteter, Eggers, and Spiegel maintain, all the same, that Ahura Mazdah also is the abstraction of the idea of sky. In Avesta, *varena* is the name of a mythological land which is said to be *cathrugaosha*. The linguistic affinity between the words, Varuṇa and *varena*, is, supposed to be quite evident. This mythological locality is, according to some scholars, to be identified with the expanse of the sky 'with its four corners.' It may be remembered, in this connection, that, in the Veda, Varuṇa too is said to be *caturanika*. This was considered as another piece of evidence in favour of the sky-theory. Attempts have also been made to connect the word Varuṇa philologically with Armenian (Arm.) *garuna* which means the bright sky. In the course of time, however, there began, in the evolution of the Vedic religious thought, the process of spiritualisation, which all nature-gods had to undergo at some stage of their

career. Varuṇa thus rose from the 'sky' to be the 'god of the sky,' presiding over all the natural phenomena of which the sky is the foundation and the scene; and in the later development he was finally regarded as the supreme embodiment and guardian, as well as the maker of the law, which controlled those phenomena of nature. The transition from the guardianship of the cosmic order to that of the moral order was then merely a matter of logical extension. It is even boldly suggested that such a development of the Varuṇa-conception might have been in the mind of Kant when he said: 'Zwei Dinge erfüllen das Gemüt mit immer neuer und zunehmender Bewunderung, je öfter und anhaltender sich das Nachdenken damit beschäftigt: Der bestirnte Himmel über mir und das moralische Gesetz in mir!' The sun is described, in the Veda, to be the eye of Varuṇa (I. 115.1; VI. 51.1; VII. 61.1), which can be best understood if Varuṇa were regarded as the sky-god. Max Müller recognises, in the physical Varuṇa only the 'starry' night-side, while Knauer, who connects the name Varuṇa with *varna*, 'black colour,' emphasises 'darkness' as the main characteristic of that god and therefore identifies Varuṇa with the 'night-sky' of the ur-idg. period.

It must be said with regard to this theory, which primarily identifies Varuṇa with Greek Ouranos and thus regards him as a sky-god, that it is based on a fundamentally incorrect etymology. It will be found that all derivatives, in the *u*-themes, from the root *vr*, 'to cover,' with which the Gk. word, Ouranos, is usually philologically connected, always show a long vowel; for instance, Sk. *varūtar*, *varūtra*, *varūtha*, as also Gk. *rūtōr*, *rūtēr* *erūto*. If therefore the word Varuṇa were to be derived from the root *vr*, 'to cover,' one would naturally expect to find '*varūṇa*' with long *rū*. Even Schröder, who is a strong protagonist of the sky-theory, himself confesses that there are objections, based also on phonetic grounds, to the acceptance of the equation, Varuṇa=Ouranos. Macdonell quotes in his *Vedic Mythology* the view of Joh. Schmidt, namely, that it was not so easy, as it would seem, to connect Varuṇa linguistically with Ouranos. Lately the French scholar, Dumézil, has again assumed the identity of Varuṇa and Ouranos, but he derives those two words from quite a different root and consequently draws quite a different conclusion regarding the personality of Varuṇa. As regards

the suggestion that Vedic Varuṇa may be connected with Arm. *garuna*, Hübschmann has clearly shown that those words have hardly anything to do with each other from the philological point of view. Moreover, the original meaning of the word, *garuna*, is the 'spring' and not the 'sky.'

Apart from this basic etymological flaw, the sky-theory further suffers from another grave defect, namely, that it cannot fully and rationally explain the special characteristics of Varuṇa as described in the Veda. The foremost difficulty in this connection arises from Varuṇa's close association with Mitra and the Ādityas. Even in the Boghazkōi inscription the reference to Varuṇa is made as *ū-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-el*, meaning 'Varuṇa together with his group.' So also, Ahura Mazda is praised in the Avesta as being constantly associated with Mithra and the Amesha Spentas. This conception of a special circle of divinities over which Varuṇa seems to have presided, would not fit properly in the sky-theory. Further even on the assumption that Mitra primarily represents the sun-god—this assumption will be later on shown to be positively wrong—the pairing of Mitra and Varuṇa would appear to be without any special significance. The plea put forth by Schröder, in this connection, namely that the sun and the sky always appear together and may therefore form a pair of constant companions, is not at all convincing. Further how can one explain, in that case, the contrast between Mitra and Varuṇa, so emphatically implied in a large number of Vedic passages, such as,

मित्रो अहरजनयद् वरुणो रात्रिम् (T. S. IV. 4.8.3) ?

Moreover nowhere else in the Vedic literature does one find any indication of a dual divinity like *dyāvāsūryau*, which would correspond completely with *mitravaruṇau*. It is interesting to note here that Schröder himself later on feels inclined to give up the hypothesis that Mitra represents the sun-god.

The rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa, which certainly was a favourite theme of the Vedic poets, is also rendered meaningless if Varuṇa were made to represent the sky-god. Whether, in the naturalistic interpretation of the Vedic mythology, which is, by the way, not necessarily always correct, Indra were to be regarded as the sun-god, or as the storm-god, one fails to understand why there should be any rivalry between him and the sky-god !

Further the Vedic passages adduced in support of the sky-theory, such as,

तिस्रो द्यावो निहिता अन्तरस्मिन् (VII. 87. 5)

त्री ष पवित्रा हृदि अन्तरादधे (IX. 73. 8)

etc are of such a general tenor that one comes across similar passages with reference to Parjanya (VII. 102.4) or the Ādityas (AV. XIII. 2.3). On the other hand, one may consider with advantage the following Vedic passages referring to Varuṇa :

अव सिन्धुं वरुणो द्यौरिव स्थाद्

द्रप्सो न श्वेतो मृगस्तुविष्मान् (VII. 87.6)

स समुद्रो अपीच्यस्तुरो द्यामिव रोहति.....

स माया आर्चिना पदास्तृणान् नाकमारुहत्..... (VIII. 41.8).

Are the phrases *dyauriva sthād*, *drapso na śvetah*, *dyāmiva rohati*, and *nākam āruhat*, in any way indicative of the sky? Can the sky be called *apīcyaḥ samudraḥ*? How is it further possible to explain, with the sky-hypothesis, the Vedic passages where Varuṇa is connected with Yama (X. 14.7), with *manyu* (X. 84. 7), with *pāpa* (I. 24. 11), and with *dhūrti* (I. 128.7)?

No other idg. religion has elevated the sky-god to the exalted position of the guardianship of the cosmic and moral order, which is one of the essential characteristics of Varuṇa in the Veda and of Ahura Mazdah in the Avesta. The 'father-sky'—*dyaus-pitar*, *Jupiter*,—is no doubt represented in every idg. mythology but he has his own restricted domain and his own place, albeit sufficiently high in the pantheon. It is further not clear why Varuṇa, the sky-god, should be idealised in the peculiarly ethical direction and not Dyaus, the sky-god? The conceptions of *māyā* and *ṛta*, with which the Vedic Varuṇa is associated in a special manner, lose all their essential significance on the assumption of Varuṇa's being identical with the sky. What again are we to understand by the *pāśa* of Varuṇa, according to this theory? It must be remembered at the same time that in later Indian literature we do not find any trace of Varuṇa representing the sky. It will thus be seen that none of the above-mentioned four conditions is even slightly fulfilled by the sky-theory, which fact therefore renders it unacceptable. Other modifications of this theory, such as, that Varuṇa represents the ur-idg. 'night-sky' (Knauer), or that he represents the 'starry vault of the sky'

(Max Müller) may now be dismissed without any further discussion.

J. J. Meyer has suggested, in his work on legal literature of ancient India, that Varuṇa is principally the god of night.¹ The sins and crimes are usually perpetrated during the night-time and as the god of night, it is Varuṇa's function to prevent them. It is in this way, argues Meyer, that Varuṇa becomes the moral governor of mankind. Another quite a novel theory about Varuṇa is put forth by Johansson in his very thought-provoking monograph on the Vedic goddess, Dhiṣaṇā. He believes that the names Varuṇa and Vṛtra are derived from the same idg. form *uel-lu, 'to bind' 'to keep under chains.' This fact would indicate the commonness of their nature. According to Johansson, Varuṇa and Vṛtra are the two aspects of 'winter,' which keeps the waters of rivers in bondage, one divine aspect and the other demoniac! Bergaigne too claims an especially tenebrious character for Varuṇa. He sees in him a clear identity with Vṛtra, who is the 'restrainer' of waters. Varuṇa's *pāśa* is, according to Bergaigne, indicative of the tying down of waters. The rivalry between Varuṇa and Indra is therefore only another aspect of the conflict between Vṛtra and Indra. Varuṇa's *pāśa* is the symbolical representation of the power of winter by means of which the waters are fettered. Certain stray references like *hemanto hi varuṇaḥ* (M. S. I. 10.12), or such possible conjectures as that the *varuṇapraghāsa* sacrifice was performed on the eve of winter, are adduced by Johansson in support of his theory.

As Sörensen has rightly pointed out, while contradicting the identification of Varuṇa with Vṛtra, Varuṇa is represented, in the Veda, as the lord and friend of waters and not even the slightest hint is given to the effect that he prevents them from flowing, as Vṛtra does. Further a critical examination of the Vedic hymns would indicate that Vṛtra and Indra on the one hand and Mitra and Varuṇa on the other belong to two distinct

¹ 'The conception of Varuṇa as the god of night seems to be the more primary conception.....Varuṇa represents the moon-lit magic night... ..Night, the night-sky, and the moon are very closely connected with each other.....'

types of mythologies. Though therefore the names Vṛtra and Varuṇa may possibly have been derived from the same root, the conceptions underlying them have to be thoroughly distinguished from each other, from the point of view of content as well as the history of religion. Moreover a mere reference to some of the outstanding features of Varuṇa, as described in the Veda, would suffice to disprove completely such views as have been put forth by Meyer and Johansson. The very suggestion that either the god of night or the winter-god could be raised to such an exalted position in any religion is preposterous. These and such other theories ¹ seem to disregard completely the evidence

¹ A reference may be made, in this context, to other theories regarding the true nature of the Vedic god, Varuṇa, advanced by Johansson and Meyer themselves :

‘The most prominent god of fertility in ancient India was Varuṇa.....in this respect he was regarded as the god of the whole community and particularly of the Kṣatriyas.....Varuṇa consequently represented the essential element of royal power.....Varuṇa was the god who governed the change of seasons and was therefore the god of the year, possessing two aspects of Varuṇa and Dyaus (Mitra ?). Where he is not represented anthropomorphically, he is represented as a horse..... The feminine counterpart of Varuṇa is mother earth—Aditi or Pṛthvī.....Probably Aditi was primarily the wife of Varuṇa.....’

—Johansson : Über die altindische Göttin
Dhīṣaṇā and Verwandtes, pp. 108ff.

‘Varuṇa was primarily chthonic vegetation-god and phallic divinity..... his connection with waters which cause growth and life is particularly emphasised.....he is the lord of water and rains.....Already as the god of the earth he is the king and therefore also the god of law and punishment..... In ṚV he ascends to the sky (not necessarily first then), becomes the lord of atmospheric ocean and makes the rain-waters stream down.....he is now turned into the heavenly sovereign-lord of the universe and the upholder of the ṛta.....next he is regarded as the moon-god, because, on the one hand, he is the lord of night, and because, on the other, he and Soma, both divinities of water and vegetation, are identical.....Varuṇa’s dreary and frightful nature and his lordship over the dead seem to have developed out of his original chthonic nature.....this is how the Varuṇa-mythology seems to have evolved in India.....’

—J. J. Meyer : Trilogie der altindischen
Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, pp. 269ff.

Evidently both Johansson and Meyer are not quite sure about the essential nature and personality of Varuṇa. They do not seem to reconstruct the picture of the Vedic Varuṇa in a synthetical manner from the special and exclusive attributes of that god. Particularly Meyer appears, of recent years,

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of the Veda ; they do not take into account the logical development of the religious thought among the idg. people in general and among the Vedic Aryans in particular ; and finally they are not confirmed by linguistic facts, which those scholars claim to be supporting their theories.

Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*) comes forth, as usual, with a refreshingly original theory in this regard. The physical representations of Varuṇa, Mitra and the Ādityas bear, according to him, several distinct attributes of light. The same is the case with regard to the corresponding circle of divinities in the Avesta, namely, Ahura Mazdah, Mithra and the Amesha Spentas. Oldenberg starts with the assumption that the fact that Mithra of the Avesta definitely represents the sun-god is unchallengeable. The Vedic counterpart of Mithra, namely Mitra, must therefore necessarily be the sun-god. Though independent references to Mitra are not many in the RV, still Oldenberg claims to find faint traces of his identity with the sun-god even in the existing material. In III. 59, for instance, general expressions have been used which indicate, according to Oldenberg, without any specific mention, the connection of Mitra with the sun. More direct references in this connection are found in the AV :

स वरुणः सायमग्निः भवति

स मित्रो भवति प्रातरुद्यन् । (AV. XIII. 3.13)

वरुणेन समृज्जितां मित्रः प्रातर् व्युज्जतु । (AV. IX. 3.18).

In the *Brāhmaṇa* literature there are numerous passages of a similar tenor, where Varuṇa is said to belong to the night and

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to have been considerably influenced by the vegetation-fertility-conception. In his recent book, 'Trilogie der altindischen Mächte etc,' he represents Kāma, Bali and Indra as ancient Indian gods of vegetation and fertility.

Mention may also be made of the theory put forth by N. N. Ghose (*Aryan trail in India and Iran*) that Mitra and Varuṇa were originally an inseparable pair like the Aśvins and that they represented the same twin principles of Light and Moisture. According to Ghose these twin principles were worshipped under different designations amongst different tribes of Proto-Aryan grass-land nomads. He further maintains that through fusion of tribes, Mitra and Varuṇa became maintainers of Law. Obviously the Vedic evidence cannot be said to be, in any way, substantiating this theory.

Mitra to the day. Ritualistically Varuṇa is connected with black animal and Mitra with bright-coloured animals. The common concept of day and night—corresponding with Mitra and Varuṇa respectively—repeats itself very often in the sacrificial formulas. The essential nature of Mitra as the sun-god is thus confirmed, according to Oldenberg, by Vedic as well as Avestan literary and ritualistic evidence. Varuṇa is the constant companion of Mitra; the association of Mitra with Varuṇa is so predominant that only one single hymn of the RV is addressed to Mitra alone. Oldenberg's line of argumentation is as follows: There is in the Vedic mythology a compact group of seven mutually-connected gods, namely, the Ādityas, who are conspicuously dependent upon sky and light. Two from among them, Mitra and Varuṇa, have assumed more preeminent forms. One of these two, namely Mitra, is definitely the sun-god, while the other one, Varuṇa, has the features of a god of light with special reference to night, over which he is said to rule. What else can he possibly represent if not the moon? The logical extension of the hypothesis that Mitra is the sun-god, and Varuṇa is the moon-god naturally was that the Ādityas represent the planets. Besides this hypothesis there is also another side to Oldenberg's theory. The glorification of the sun, the moon, and the planets as a compact group of mutually-connected gods, which is to be seen in the Veda and the Avesta, cannot be traced back to any other idg. religion. There are therefore two possibilities regarding the genesis of this religious conception. Either the Indo-Iranians themselves created this group of gods in their own common religious fervour, or they borrowed those divinities from a foreign religion. Oldenberg believes that the rather unique circle of the Ādityas, with Varuṇa and Mitra as the foremost among them, is more or less foreign to the pantheon of Vedic gods, which is presided over by the Aryan national war-god, Indra. According to him the Indra-Vṛtra-mythology is genuinely Aryan while the Varuṇa-Mitra-mythology has been implanted, in the Vedic religion, from outside. Is it possible, he asks, that this unique group of gods has been borrowed by the Indo-Iranians from the Semitic people (or the Akkadians) and that from the very beginning it was only half understood by the borrowers? The fact that the Semitic people were well-

versed in the science of astronomy and of numbers, from the very ancient times, seems to support considerably this conjecture. Moreover there is much other evidence to show that the Semitic people had developed a sufficiently high type of civilisation before the Indo-Iranians came in contact with them. The god Varuṇa, whom the Aryans are supposed to have borrowed from the Semitic mythology, does appear, by the side of the Aryan national god, Indra, as a representative of an older and distinctly higher culture.

The apparent reasonableness and soundness of this moon-theory of Oldenberg made even Hillebrandt (*Vedische Mythologie*) revise his original judgment in the matter of the Varuṇa-problem. His method of approach to this question was however different from that of Oldenberg. He attempts to bring forth evidence in support of his theory from within rather than from without. One fact must all the same be clearly recognised in both these cases--and that is certainly a defect in the process of theorisation--namely that Oldenberg and Hillebrandt first form some idea about Varuṇa's original nature and then try to adduce evidence in support of that idea. They seem to start with conclusions rather than end with them. Hillebrandt considers the Vedic passages, such as,

अव सिन्धुं वरुणो यौरिव स्थाद्

द्रप्सो न श्वेतः सृगस्तुविष्मान् । (VII. 87.6)

स समुद्रो अपीच्यस्तुरो यामिद रोहति.....

स माया अर्चिना पदास्तुणान् नाकमारुहत्.....(VIII. 41.8)

as clearly indicative of Varuṇa's identity with the moon. *Apī-cyaḥ samudraḥ* is according to him the usual epithet of the moon. But more convincing evidence in this connection is to be found in the ninth *maṇḍala* of the RV. In the passage,

राज्ञो नु ते वरुणस्य व्रतानि

बृहद् गभीरं तव सोम धाम ।

शुचिः त्वमग्निः असि प्रियो न मित्रः

दक्षाय्यो अर्यमेवासि सोम ॥ (I. 91.3)

Soma is compared with Mitra and Aryaman; the juxtaposition of *te* and *varuṇasya* in the first *pāda*, on the other hand, clearly implies that Soma is here considered to be identical with Varuṇa. Sometimes even the name Varuṇa seems to have been used as a synonym of Soma; for instance,

तं मर्त्यजानं महिषं न सानो
 अंशुं दुहन्ति उक्षणं गिरिष्ठाम् ।
 तं वावशानं मतयः सचन्ते
 त्रितो बिभर्ति वरुणं समुद्रे ॥ (IX. 95.4).

Further Soma and Varuṇa are emphatically described as *kavi* in the Vedic hymns. The following stanzas addressed to Varuṇa and to Soma exhibit an astounding similarity of contents and expression :

- (to Varuṇa) त्रि स पवित्रा हृदि अन्तरादधे (IX. 73.8)
 (to Soma) सं त्रि पवित्रा विततान्येसि (IX. 95.55)
 (to Varuṇa) यावा पृथिवी वरुण धर्मणा विष्कभिते.....(IX. 70.1)
 (to Soma) वि यस्तस्तम्भ रोदसी.....(IX. 101.15).

In ritual also, at the beginning of the *agniṣṭhoma* sacrifice, Soma is treated as Varuṇa. The sovereignty of Varuṇa is perfectly identical with that of Soma. A considerable amount of Vedic literary and ritualistic evidence can thus be adduced to indicate that in the minds of the Vedic thinkers, Varuṇa and Soma were quite identical. Hillebrandt claims to have proved, finally and convincingly, that Soma represents the moon. The logical conclusion therefore is that Varuṇa also represents the moon. This fact is amply corroborated, according to Hillebrandt, by the wealth of material, indicative of the contrast between Mitra and Varuṇa, in the Vedic hymns as well as in the Vedic ritual (A. B. III. 4.6 ; T. S. VI. 6.3.5). It must be remembered that Hillebrandt unhesitatingly accepts the identification of Mitra with the sun-god. He however believes that Ahura Mazdah of the Avesta has nothing to do with Varuṇa. Otherwise, he argues, the name Varuṇa would have been retained in the Iranian language in some form or another. The probable question with regard to the moon-theory, namely, why Ahura Mazdah does not show, in the Avesta, even the faintest traces of the moon-god, has thus been anticipated and answered away by Hillebrandt. Much emphasis has been placed by him on the *sūtra*-passage where Varuṇa is supposed to be described as ' bald, yellow-eyed, whitish man, who stands among the waters and receives the offerings on his head.' Can there be, he asks, a more picturesque representation of the moon than this one ? Varuṇa's association with the night is too evident to need special discussion. A further peculiarity of Varuṇa is that he is connected with

waters as well as with winter. Is the moon not described in a Vedic passage as the sender of rains (A. B. VIII. 28.5) ? There are thus three most prominent characteristics in the nature of Varuṇa—his connection with the night, his connection with waters, and his connection with winter. The essential features of all these three are to be found together in only one entity, namely, the moon. Further the 'dismal,' 'dreary' and 'dark' features in Varuṇa's personality can be adequately accounted for, according to Oldenberg and Hillebrandt, only on the moon-hypothesis. The unique idealisation of Varuṇa into a sovereign-lord of the universe holding sway over all aspects of natural as well as human life need not surprise anyone. As indicated by H. Lommel in his 'Die alten Arier' the moon is glorified to the same extent, in many primitive religions, as Varuṇa in the Veda. Oldenberg mentions, in this connection, the indigenous American religions as well as the Finnish mythology; wherein the moon is considered as the almighty god. Even the hymn to *Nannar*—the moon-god of Ur—quoted by Sayce, would remind one of a prayer addressed to Varuṇa by the Vasiṣṭhas !

This theory, namely that Varuṇa primarily represents the moon, first propounded by Oldenberg, in his distinctive manner, and later on so very ably supported by Hillebrandt and accepted by Hardy and others, is apparently quite sound and therefore may not be lightly set aside as of no account. But it cannot certainly stand a keen and critical examination. Attention has already been drawn to the fundamentally defective method of approach on the part of Oldenberg and Hillebrandt. It is not the evidence of the Veda itself that has led these scholars to the hypothesis which they have put forth; their theory principally depends upon extraneous circumstances and they have only later on tried to adduce such evidence from the Veda as would fit in with their hypothesis. Apart from this, it must be said that the very first assumption, namely that Mitra represents the sun-god, which is the starting point of this theory, can be shown, on the strength of the evidence of comparative philology and comparative mythology, to be positively wrong. Let us pause here a little to consider the name Mitra and the conception underlying it. Only one full hymn in RV., III. 59, is dedicated to the praise of this god exclusively. The Vedic evidence on the

whole seems to show that Mitra did not possess any individuality on the physical side. His special characteristic feature is expressed, in the Veda, through the words :

मित्रो जनान्यातयति भुवणः (III. 59.1)

‘Mitra places the men, through his commands, in their proper places.’ A clear hint is hereby given that Mitra has something to do with ‘right’ and ‘law.’ He is primarily the *yātayajjana*. This idea is further confirmed by other Vedic passages, which connect Mitra very significantly with *dharman* and *ṛta* :

मित्रो भवसि देव धर्मभिः । (V. 81.4)

यस्मै विष्णुस्त्रीणि पदा विचक्रम उप मित्रस्य धर्मभिः । (VIII. 52.3)

ऋताय सप्त दधिषे पदानि

जनयन् मित्र तन्वे स्वायै । (X. 8.4).

As against this, there is not the slightest evidence in the Veda to indicate that Mitra was originally the Sun-god. Etymologically the original form of the word Mitra seems to have been *mitram* (neuter) formed with the suffix—*tra*, which, in its turn, is the modification of the idg. instrumental suffix—*tro*. Other formations of a similar character are *vr̥tram* from the root *vr̥*, *yotram* from the root *yu*, and *yantram* from the root *yam*. The base of the original idg. form **mi-tro-m* was the idg. root **m(e)u-* ‘to bind’. The same root is clearly perceptible in the words, Sk. *mekhalā*, Lett. *meimuri*, Gk. *mitos*, *mitrē*, ‘girdle of the body’. The word *mitram* thus originally indicates a ‘bond’ or ‘binding together,’ and secondarily a ‘friendly bond’. A further modification from this was *mitraḥ* (masc.) meaning the agent of bondage or the ‘binder’. Uhlenbeck derives *mitra* from *mayate*, while some scholars are inclined to connect *mitra* with Lat. *milis* ‘mild,’ Lit. *mylimas*, ‘beloved’. These suggestions are definitely unacceptable, as shown by Brugmann and Eiser, since the suffix —*tro* clearly goes against them. The Avestan expressions like *mithrem jan*, *mithrem druj* also indicate that the original conception underlying the word *mithra* was that of binding together or of the binder. Mitra, and also Mithra in his original nature, may therefore be looked upon as a god essentially connected with ‘contract,’ ‘treaty,’ ‘agreements.’ Had Mitra really anything to do with the sun-god, the RV-hymns, which often sing very enthusiastically about light and splendour,

would have certainly bestowed upon him, before anything else, the epithets indicative of light and splendour ! That is however not the case, since, as seen above, RV connects Mitra mainly with law and order. The sun is itself said to be the eye of Mitra. The later development of the Avestan Mithra into a sun-god is due to several causes. He has inherited the features of several mythologies. As Geiger has pointed out there are in him some distinct features of the Vedic Indra ; so too some influence of the Semetic sun-god, Šamaš, is clearly perceptible in the later development of Mitra. Zarathushtra seems to have changed the old original god and forced upon him new religious conceptions. The Vedic Mitra, on the other hand, has remained true to the Aryan prototype--namely that of the god presiding over contracts and agreements, and thus preserving law and order mainly among human beings. The analysis of the Vedic references to Mitra, made by Schröder (*Arische Religion*) clearly indicates that he never represents the sun-god in the Vedic religion. It is in his capacity of the divine guardian of truth and law among men that, in the Boghazköi inscription, *mi-id-ra-aš-ši-el*, 'Mitra together with his group,' is invoked to bear witness to the treaty which was concluded between *Subbilibiuma*, the king of the Hittites and *Mattiuaza*, the king of Mittanni. Mitra must have also been the god by whom people used to swear, as is indicated by Gk. *ma tōn Mithrēn*. The essential nature of Mitra thus being that of a god of holy law, guarding the truth in word and deed, every hypothesis based upon the equation, Mitra=sun-god, necessarily falls to the ground. The very foundation of the Moon-theory is thus utterly untenable. The evidence adduced by Oldenberg and Hillebrandt from the ritualistic literature, which seems to connect Mitra exclusively with the day and Varuṇa exclusively with the night clearly seems to have been an afterthought and cannot therefore be regarded as in any way conclusive in regard to the problem of the personality of the Vedic Varuṇa. In the history of the religious thought of the Aryans, light-symbolism would appear to have come in, in an emphatic manner, at a later stage only.

Apart from this basic flaw, the moon-theory is not at all supported by the evidence of the Vedic hymns. Attention has already been drawn to the absurdity of the sun being mentioned

as the eye of the moon (I. 50.6). Particularly when the physical image of the moon was present to the eye of the Vedic poet, such reference cannot be regarded even as poetical fantasy. Further it would be very difficult to explain, on the basis of the moon-hypothesis, why Varuṇa, the moon, is regarded, in the Vedic hymns, as enormously more important than Mitra, the sun. Indeed so much richness of material, as we find with regard to the Vedic Varuṇa, should be impossible in the case of the moon. To justify this contingency on the strength of the evidence of some primitive religions, where the moon is apparently regarded as the almighty god, is to completely misunderstand the whole spirit of the Varuṇa-religion. Does the Varuṇa-religion, as presented in the Veda, betray even the slightest traces of such primitive character? In Varuṇa, we have not to see a primitive conception such as is implied by H. Lommel. On the contrary, by the side of Indra, the national Aryan god, Varuṇa gives the impression of a representative of an older, and a more refined culture. Can Varuṇa's counterpart in the Avesta, Ahura Mazdah, be ever regarded as representing the moon? The unique kind of ethical idealisation from the cosmic point of view, which is the most outstanding feature of the essential nature of the Vedic Varuṇa, as well as of Ahura Mazdah, becomes utterly meaningless in the moon-theory. Varuṇa's close association with *ṛta* and the rivalry between Varuṇa and Indra also cannot then be satisfactorily accounted for. Do we further not find that in the Vedic mythology there exist the proper sun-god, Sūrya, and the proper moon-god, Candramas? What then is the necessity of this peculiar glorification of Mitra and Varuṇa, as representing the sun and the moon respectively? Had Mitra and Varuṇa primarily represented the two natural phenomena of the sun and the moon, the physical side of those gods would have been more distinctly emphasised in the Veda. But as a matter of fact that is not at all the case! Further it may be pointed out, in this connection, that Varuṇa does not play, in the Vedic mythology, the same role as the moon in the classical Hindu mythology. What is the significance of the mention of Mitra and Varuṇa in the Boghazkōi inscriptions, if they merely represented the sun-god and the moon-god respectively? They have been invoked with a special purpose and must have been considered as

having something to do with treaties and agreements. The *pūṣa*, which forms an exclusive feature of Varuṇa, would create quite a major difficulty in the moon-theory. Soma is merely an intoxicating drink, which fact would be quite clear from the Vedic references. The identification of Soma with the moon can only be of a secondary character, and may be regarded as the product of poetical fancy. So Hillebrandt's assertion that Soma is primarily identical with the moon is quite unconvincing. Moreover Varuṇa's apparent identity with Soma, which seems to form the mainstay of Hillebrandt's hypothesis, can be more adequately explained by assuming that it was a conscious attempt on the part of the later Soma-priests to glorify Soma by bringing him in a line with Varuṇa, the world-sovereign. Finally the moon-theory would appear to be utterly unacceptable when one would take into consideration the Vedic passage where Varuṇa and Candramas are brought together as the governor and the governed :

अदस्थानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि

विचाकशच्चन्द्रमा नक्तमेति ! (I. 24.10).

It is interesting to note that the etymology of the name Varuṇa has been completely overlooked by the protagonists of the moon-theory. No other idg. religion has glorified the moon-god to such a great extent as is done, according to Oldenberg and Hillebrandt, in the Aryan religion. Historically too this fact would become unaccountable. Oldenberg assumes that the whole circle of the Vedic gods--Mitra, Varuṇa and the Ādityas--representing respectively the sun, the moon and the planets, as well as the corresponding circle of the Avestan divinities, Mithra, Ahura Mazdah, and the Amesha Spentas, have been borrowed by the Aryans from the Semitic people. If the Āditya-circle as a compact group were supposed to have been borrowed from the Semitic religion, there should have originally been such a group of divinities in that religion. As a matter of fact however there is no such group ! The planet-divinities in Babylon do not appear at all as a group of seven. Moreover the single planet-divinities of the Semitic people, such as, *Ninib*, *Nergal*, *Nebo* etc. have absolutely nothing in common with the Vedic Ādityas, such as, Aryaman, Dakṣa, Bhaga, or with the Avestan

Amesa Spentas, such as, *Vohu manah*, *Aša vahišta*, etc. Moreover the planets as such are regarded, in the Iranian religion, more or less as evil spirits on the side of *Ahriman*. The fatalism which is implied by the planets is again unknown to the Aryans. According to the hypothesis of Oldenberg, Varuṇa should have been identical with *Sin*, the moon-god of the Semitic people, and Mitra with *Šamaš*, their sun-god. In the Babylonian mythology *Sin*, in contrast to the Vedic Varuṇa, plays a very minor role; Varuṇa's personality, on the other hand, exhibits many features, which are common to *Šamaš*. These facts clearly go against Oldenberg's theory. One conclusion therefore seems to be quite unchallengeable, namely, that the circle of the Ādityas cannot have been borrowed from the Semitic mythology, since there is no such compact group of divinities in the Semitic mythology. Semitic influence on the Varuṇa-religion of the Veda is further out of question in view of the fact that abstract thought in the direction of the 'invisible', 'indefinite', 'mystical' is foreign to the Semitic outlook on life. It seems to be an exclusively Aryan heritage. The Semitic people, on the other hand, are satisfied with 'concrete' things, with 'numbers' and are rarely seen to go beyond them.

The soundest method of understanding and evaluating the unknown Vedic mythological facts is, according to Pischel, to start from the known classical Hindu mythology. This method proposed by Pischel is correct but it is certainly not the only method. On the strength of the evidence of the classical Hindu mythology Pischel has put forth the theory, namely, that Varuṇa represents in the Veda, the god of ocean, as he does in later mythology.¹ Varuṇa's connections with waters are many and varied in the Vedic literature (I. 161.14; VII. 49.3; IX. 90.2; AV. VII. 83.1). This fact would also confirm, according to him, the hypothesis that Varuṇa is primarily the lord of waters. The following Vedic passage,

¹ Wilkins (*Hindu Mythology*) says, in this connection, that in the Vedic literature, Varuṇa was not represented chiefly as the god of the ocean; rather Vedic hymns show him as one of the gods of light, 'yet there are passages which describe him as being connected with the waters of the atmosphere and on the earth, which afford some foundations for the later conceptions of his kingdom.'

अप्सु ते राजन् वरुण गृहो हिरण्ययो मिथः

ततो धृतव्रतो राजा सर्वा धामानि सुञ्चतु । (AV. VII. 83.1)

clearly pointed to the abode of Varuṇa being among waters. In this connection a reference may also be made to the linguistic connection, proposed by Hopkins, between the words, *Varuṇa*, on the one hand, and *vari*, 'a river' and *vāri*, 'water,' on the other. Lüders seems to have modified the ocean-theory by regarding Varuṇa as representing originally the ocean surrounding the world.

Apart from the faulty etymology suggested by Hopkins, it must be said regarding this theory, that, according to the Vedic evidence, 'waters' or 'ocean' represent only one region of Varuṇa's supreme sovereignty. It may also be pointed out that in no idg. religion is the ocean glorified as the world-sovereign. Moreover it is positively doubtful whether the sea was at all regarded by the Vedic Aryans as of such great importance as to make its god the most august and the most paramount god of the Vedic pantheon. It is consequently quite impossible to accept the theory put forth by Pischel.

A critical examination of the Vedic hymns would clearly indicate that the mythology dominated by Varuṇa, Mitra, the Ādityas, and Aditi does not exhibit even the faintest traces of 'naturalism—' that is to say, of the worship of the Powers of Nature as Divine Beings.¹ It has already been shown that the Vedic Varuṇa cannot be said to be primarily representing the sky-god, or the winter-god or the moon-god, or the god of ocean. What then is his essential nature? Let us approach this problem in a constructive way by clearly analysing the principal conceptions with which Varuṇa is associated in a special and exclusive manner.

Among all the Vedic gods the title *asura* seems to belong specially to Varuṇa. A large number of passages from the Veda would make this fact abundantly clear :

क्षयन्नस्मभ्यं असुर प्रचेता

राजन्नेनांसि शिश्रन्थः कृतानि । (I. 24.14)

¹ Macnicol (*Indian Theism*) seems to make an overcautious statement in this connection : 'As we discern his figure, Varuṇa seems to be in the act of passing beyond physical limitations to take his place as a moral lord over the consciences of man.'

त्वं विश्वेषां वरुणासि राजा
 ये च देवा असुर ये च मर्ताः (II. 27.10)
 अस्तभ्नायां असुरो विश्ववेदा
 अमिमीत वरिमाणं पृथिव्याः (VIII. 42.1)
 मा नो वधैः वरुण ये न इष्टौ
 एनः कृण्वन्तं असुर ब्रीजन्ति । (II. 28.7)

A thorough philological and anthropological investigation will clearly indicate that the primitive conception of 'magic' 'occult' power underlies the word *asura*.¹ The Vedic word *asura* is much older than the classical Sk. word *sura*; *asura* does not represent the opposite of *sura*, (=god). That word was originally used in the Vedic literature in the sense of a being possessing the highest occult power. Its meaning, namely 'demon', belongs semasiologically to a later date and it was then that the word *sura*, 'a god' was artificially coined through a misunderstanding of the *a* in *asura* as a prefix of negation. Philologically the word *asura* is derived from *asu* by the addition of the possessive termination-*ra*. I have shown elsewhere (*Der Vedische Mensch*, p. 25), on the basis of philological and anthropological evidence, that *asu* must have been originally regarded as a supernatural fluid like the primitive *Mana*. This fluid invested upon a being some supernatural occult power, which belongs to the realm of the 'invisible' and which is quite distinct

¹ It is interesting to note that Ghose (*Aryan trail in India and Iran*) emphasises upon Varuṇa's resemblance to Assara Mazās and his Igigi of the Hommel inscription (left by Assurbanipal, the Assyrian Imperial king) and to Ahura of the Magians. Assur was the local deity of the metropolis of the first kingdom of Assyria. Ghose believes that Assara Mazās was the original of Ahura Mazdah. 'The real link,' he goes on to say, 'to connect Varuṇa with Ahura is not to be found in a common etymological source from which the two names may be supposed to have derived. The name Ahura, if it had any etymological base of any kind at all and was not simply taken from a quite arbitrarily fixed place-name, had without doubt a Semitic or Elamatic and not an Aryan origin.' The process of borrowing was thus, according to Ghose, (quite strangely, indeed!): Assur (Semitic)—Ahura (Iranian)—*Asura* (Vedic).

Macnicol says: 'If there was indeed any debt on the part of Varuṇa or Ahura Mazdah to the Semites, that debt was repaid later: M. Cumont points out that without doubt at the period of the Achaemenides a rapprochement took place between the Semitic Baalsamin and the Persian Ahura Mazdah, the ancient deity of the vault of heaven but now become the supreme physical and moral power.'

from physical strength. The occult power which comes from *Mana* may be utilised both for good as well as bad purposes. To possess and to control the largest quantity of that all-penetrating magic fluid was the greatest achievement ever thought of. It should be remembered in this connection that the magic fluid postulated by the primitives is not what we may call 'spirit,' 'mind' or 'soul.' It is a power-substance which fills the living beings; but even the lifeless can have it magically filled up in them. The Batak call such power-substance *Tondi*, while the Huron-Indians call it *Orenda*. The conception of *Orenda*, *Tondi*, *Mana* is the ultimate solution offered by the primitive to the riddle of life and being. What is true of the Melanesians, Polynesians, Australian tribes, American Indians, African Negroes etc. must also be true of the earliest idg. peoples. The primitive religions assumed the subtle working of *Orenda* in all the invisibly working and changing forces of nature, in the organic 'becoming' and 'growing' of man, indeed in all perfectly-regulated cosmic activities. The main function of the primitive religious magic is, on the one hand, to collect and increase, as much as possible, this occult fluid in oneself, and, on the other, to reduce it in others substantially. The *asu*-conception in the Veda may as well be styled the 'Vedic orendism.' The *asura* accordingly is the being who possesses the highest amount of *asu*, the occult power-substance, and therefore commands the greatest occult power. Varuṇa is *asura* par excellence. On account of his enormous magic power he creates the universe, regulates it into an orderly whole, and wields the most supreme sovereignty over it. This unique power of the *asura* is called *māyā*; Varuṇa is therefore associated in a special way with the conception of *māyā*.

Geldner derives the word *māyā* from *miyate*, *mināti*, or *minoti*, 'to lessen,' 'to hinder,' 'to injure'. This etymology would give that word a more or less negative sense, which however cannot be confirmed by the Vedic evidence. Vedic references indicate that the fundamental conception underlying the word *māyā* is that of a secret, mysterious power, possessed by good as well as evil spirits, and the capacity to achieve miracles, which are incomprehensible from the point of view of normal beings. The regular

working of the enormous natural phenomena is thus regarded as resulting from the *māyā* of Varuṇa. The word *māyā* has therefore to be derived from *mimāti* or *mimīte*, which root does not only mean 'to measure,' but also 'to create' 'to arrange' etc. *Māyā* thus represents the capacity to plan or to organise, mainly in the spiritual sense rather than in the technical sense. As Neisser has pointed out, many Vedic passages actually connect the word *māyā* with the root *mā* :

अन्यदन्यदसुर्यं वसाना
नि मायिनो ममिरे रूपमस्मिन् । (III. 38.7)
मायाविनो ममिरे अस्य मायया । (IX. 83.3)
ते मायिनो ममिरे सुप्रचेतसः । (I. 159.4).

The word is philologically connected with Gk. *mētis* 'clever', Lit. *monai* 'magic,' Lett. *mān'i* 'roguery,' Obg. *maniti* 'deceive,' Slav. *mátoka* 'spectre' 'ghost' etc.

The conceptions underlying the words, *asura* and *māyā*, throw a good deal of light upon the true personality of Varuṇa. As the creator and the constructor of the universe, Varuṇa is regarded as the awe-inspiring and miracle-working magician. Many Vedic passages will amply corroborate this assumption :

अमी य ऋक्षा निहितास उच्चा
नक्तं ददृध्रे कुह चिद्दिवेयुः ।
अदब्धानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि
विचाकशच्चन्द्रमा नक्तमेति ॥ (I. 24.10)
चित्रेभिः अत्रैः उप तिष्ठथो रथं
द्यां वर्षयथो असुरस्य मायया । (V. 63.3)
उवाच मे वरुणो मेधिराय
त्रिः सप्त नामाख्या विभर्ति ।
विद्वान्पदस्य गुह्या न वोचद्
युगाय विप्र उपराय शिक्षन् ॥ (VII. 87.4).

In VII. 86.6, Varuṇa is directly called *yakṣin*, a magician, while in V. 85.2-6 the whole working of the magic of *asura* Varuṇa is picturesquely described. The hymn, VIII. 41, is again dedicated to the glorification of the incomprehensible miracle accomplished by Varuṇa. The sun traversed his path in the high heavens punctually every day; the changing phases of the moon appeared in the sky at night according to a definite plan; the innumer-

able stars twinkled. The Vedic Aryan saw and marvelled at all these natural phenomena, which appeared to him to be controlled and guided by some invisible hand. He wondered at the shining vault of the heavens; he observed with dismay the regular change of seasons; he imagined the night to be spreading a gigantic cover over the heavenly dome; he was indeed dumbfounded by the riddle of the origin and growth of life. He soon realised that there must have been some 'law', which regulated the workings of nature and the activities of human beings; but for him that 'law' was shrouded in darkness and mystery. He could accordingly put forth the only workable hypothesis in this regard, namely, to consider the creation and the working of the cosmos as the achievement of a tremendously powerful magician. The starting point of this hypothesis was naturally his own experience of the tribal medicineman who, by virtue of the possession of the occult fluid, *Mana*, *Orenda*, *asu*, accomplished some magic tricks which remained a veritable mystery to the ordinary man. This popular belief naturally led to the assumption, in ancient religion, of a cosmic-magician, who possessed the highest amount of the occult-power *asu*—who was, in other words, *asura* par excellence—and could therefore accomplish through his *māyā* the most enormous and the most magnificent miracle of the universe. The two currents of thought underlying the words, *asura* and *māyā*, which may be anthropologically traced back to almost every ancient religious belief, make the essential personality of Varuṇa in the Veda quite clear. Varuṇa is the great *asura*, possessing the largest amount of the occult power-substance, *asu*, and his *māyā*, resulting from this fact, is the creation of the incomprehensibly majestic miracle of the cosmos. He is the magician-creator of the world as well as its supreme sovereign. This particular characteristic of the essential nature of Varuṇa is most picturesquely represented in his other aspect, namely the Vedic god, Savitr (vide my paper, *New Light on the Vedic God, Savitr*). As¹Güntert (*Der arische Weltkönig*) has pointed out the conception of a sovereign world-magician creating, supervising and controlling the working of the cosmic law is common to many ancient religions. The Australian tribes have postulated, in their religious belief,

Bājūmi, the Algonkin Indians of North America *Atahccan*, the Irokes *Joskeha*, the Tzendals *Votan*, the Novaho tribes *Absonnuth*, the North-western races *Yehl*, to play the same role as Varuṇa does in the early Vedic religion. It is evidently a gross mistake to try to identify Varuṇa with some power of nature.

How does Varuṇa control the cosmic law? The etymology of the name Varuṇa would considerably enlighten us on this question. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that to derive Varuṇa from the root *vr*, 'to cover' is impossible from the philological point of view. Meillet derives the word Varuṇa from the idg. root **uer-urē* 'to speak'. The word *vrata* is also derived from that root. The possible connection between god Varuṇa and his commands—*vrata*—is hereby linguistically suggested. Varuṇa is accordingly the commander-god. Meillet further connects the word Varuṇa with Obg. *rōta* 'oath', Gk. *rētor* etc. It will however be seen that there is no derivative from **uer-urē* in *u*-themes, which fact would render the derivation of the word Varuṇa from it unacceptable. The word Varuṇa is best derived from **uer-* 'to bind.' Other derivatives from that root are Lett. *weru wert* 'bind down,' Obg. *veruga* 'chain,' Lat. *urvum* etc. It will thus be seen that there are also *u*-derivatives from that root. It may therefore be definitely concluded, as Petersson has done, that the name Varuṇa is derived from the idg. **ueru-n-os* 'the binder.' This etymology is amply corroborated by Varuṇa's *pāśa* and the whole religious thought dominated by them. The whole cosmic phenomenon is held in bondage by this supreme binder through his *pāśa*, which produced, so to say, a net of magic. The idea of a magic net woven round the mankind and the world is quite common in the RV :

नव्यं नव्यं तन्तुं आ तन्वते दिवि
समुद्रे अन्तः कवयः सुदीतयः । (I. 159.4)
स इत् तन्तुं स विजानाति ओतुम् । (VI. 9.2).

Further the following Vedic passages may be considered in this connection : I. 92.2 ; III. 3.6 ; VII. 10.2 ; VIII. 43.20 ; X. 57.2 ; X. 82.1 ; X. 129.5 ; AV. X. 8.37 ; AV. XIII. 1.6 etc. The words like *yātu*, *yukti*, *yoga*, *yātar*, *vayas*, *vayuna* etc. belong to the same ideology. As a logical extension of this idea, Varuṇa, in his capacity of the world-sovereign, of the upholder of the cosmic

law, and of the moral governor is represented to be employing his *pūṣa* to put the sinners against his law into bondage by way of punishment. The two currents of thought indicated above seem to have been blended together into the conception of the *pūṣa* of Varuṇa.

An analysis of the conception of *ṛta* would prove very helpful at this stage. It was Brugmann who started the linguistic investigations in this connection. According to him Gk. *eirēnē* (or *iranā*) is the reduplicated derivative from the idg. **ar-* 'to bind,' 'to unite,' 'to join together.' The Gk. word *eirēnē* means 'well-joined together,' 'holy bond,' 'clever bringing together.' Some further derivatives from that root, in different directions, are Sk. *arāḥ*, *aram*, *arpayati*, Lat. *arma*, *artus* etc. There are still other derivatives from the idg. **ar-*, with an additional *t* in the base, such as Mhd. *art*, Sk. *ṛta*, Arm. *ardar* 'right' 'lawful,' Gk. *artios* etc. These latter words will be seen to possess primarily special ethical significance. The Vedic *ṛta* thus represents the holy bond--the unbreakable, invulnerable law--which is the foundation of all natural phenomena and which binds them down into a well-ordered whole. The Vedic references to *ṛtasya tantu* (AV. II. 1.5; AV. XIII. 3.19) would seem to support this explanation of the Vedic *ṛta*-conception. The path of *ṛta* is often said to have been spun out by means of threads of light:

अदार्शि गातुः उरवे वरीयसी

पन्था कृतस्य समयस्त रदिमभिः

चक्षुर्भगस्य रदिमभिः । (I. 136.2).

The Vedic conception of *ṛta* thus represents the abstraction of the same idea which is more or less concretely personified through Varuṇa. The Iranian counterpart of *ṛta* will be clearly seen in *aša*; it would be particularly interesting to compare *khām ṛtasya* with *ašahe xām* (Y. 10.4), *ṛtasāp* with *ašem...hapti* (y.31.32) and *vedhā ṛtasya* with *ašavazdah*. B. Geiger has shown that *aša* and *druj* of the Avesta have been represented through the Vedic *ṛta* and *dṛh*, which latter are clearly contrasted with each other (I. 122.9). Güntert believes that the conceptions of *ṛta* and 'cosmos' are semasiologically connected with each other since the word *cosmos* itself can be traced back to a root (**kent*) meaning 'to bind together,'

It has already been pointed out that an outstanding feature of the Varuṇa-religion is Varuṇa's connection with the Ādityas and Aditi. Here too one would find the same conception of 'binding' underlying these two words. The words *aditi* and *āditya* are derived from the idg. **dē*--Sk. *dā* 'to bind' and are philologically connected with the words like Sk. *dāman* 'bondage.' The whole world may be bound down by the fetters of Varuṇa, the world-sovereign, but the Ādityas, who are his favoured followers, and who represent the different powers of the great *asura* Varuṇa, are naturally unbound and free. They are not involved into the net of magic created by the world magician (II. 27.10; V. 62.3; V. 63.2; VII. 52.1; VIII. 47.6; VIII. 67.18). It may be incidentally pointed out that Bloomfield's suggestion that the word *āditya* may be connected with the word *ādi* 'beginning,' and that thus the primeval character of those gods may be assumed is philologically unsound. The Ādityas belong to the entourage of *asura* Varuṇa; they may, under his behest, bind down others, but are themselves free from bondage. It will thus be seen that Mitra 'the binder,' Varuṇa 'the binder,' *ṛta* 'holy bond,' 'holy law,' Ādityas 'the unbound ones' and Aditi 'the unboundness' belong to one and the same religious conception which forms the fundamental basis of the Varuṇa-religion in the Veda. Their unique mutual connection often referred to in the Vedic hymns can be very satisfactorily accounted for on the strength of the hypothesis discussed above. The whole circle of Mitra and Varuṇa seems to have been quite an ancient feature of the Vedic religion, since, in the Boghazköi inscription of 14th century B. C., Varuṇa and Mitra are invoked not singly like Indra, but 'together with their groups'. Incidentally it may be mentioned, in this connection, that in the *Edda* of the ancient Islanders, the god is called *bond* (binder), and that the name of the god of the Thrakians is *Darzales*, which word may be philologically connected with the Avestan *darezyeiti* 'bind down.' The Thrakians and the Phrygians also worshipped a goddess named *Bendis* 'one who binds down.' It is thus particularly interesting from the point of view of the history of the idg. religious thought, to note that the unique religious conception of the 'holy bondage' and of the 'binder,' seems to have originated in prehistoric times in some

compact locality where the later Germanic, Thrakian and Indo-Iranian tribes must have once lived together.

Varuṇa may therefore be said to be representing the conception of the world-sovereign who is characterised by those distinct features which are implied by the words, *asura*, *māyā*, *ṛta*, *mitra*, *āditya*, *aditi* etc. This world-sovereign further possesses all the attributes of an Oriental ruler. He is the *rājan* (I. 24.7), the *svarāj*, but more predominantly the *samrāj*. The attribute of *kṣatra* is specially appropriated to him. He wears a golden mantle and puts on a shining robe (I. 25.13). The spies-*spāśaḥ*—of Varuṇa make his supreme sovereignty complete. His imperial ordinances—*vratāni*—are unchallenged and so he is *dhṛta-vrata*. The moral law of humanity with which Varuṇa is often associated is but a part of his guardianship of the cosmic law. This regal aspect of Varuṇa's personality may throw some light on the Vedic ideal of kingship. Johansson believes that the conception of Kingship is itself personified as a god in Varuṇa. Some scholars even go to the extent of deriving the word Varuṇa from the root *vr* 'to choose' and presume on the strength of that evidence that the king was, in the Vedic period, chosen or elected!

The essential nature of Varuṇa is necessarily all-comprehensive. Varuṇa's domain is therefore vast and he is often severally represented as being almost identical with other Vedic divinities such as Soma, Yama etc. It must however be remembered that Varuṇa is not identical with any one of these; he includes and transcends them all. In another paper (*New Light on the Vedic God, Savitr*) I have shown that, through the personality of Savitr, a special aspect of Varuṇa—Varuṇa as a magician and Varuṇa as a commander—has been glorified by the Vedic poets. A comparison between the circle of the Vedic gods, Varuṇa, Mitra and the Ādityas on the one hand, and the corresponding circle of the Iranian divinities, Ahura Mazda, Mithra, and the Amesha Spentas on the other, which however is beyond the scope of this paper, will amply corroborate every detail regarding Varuṇa's essential character.

'The number of hymns dedicated to Varuṇa's praise,' writes Macdonell, 'is not a sufficient criterion to his exalted character. Hardly a dozen hymns celebrate him exclusively.' In two

dozen more hymns, however, Varuṇa is invoked along with his double, Mitra. These hymns, addressed to Mitrāvaruṇau as a dual-divinity, present Mitra and Varuṇa as two gods supplementing each other; sometimes a slight contrast between the two is also implied. A critical study of the Mitrāvaruṇa--hymns, however, often makes one feel inclined to accept the suggestion of Bohnenberger that Mitra and Varuṇa formed originally one single godhead, which was later on split up into two and that even then Mitra was merely used as an attribute of Varuṇa. On etymological grounds it has been shown that the essential character of both the gods is the same. But there are certain points in this connection which cannot be overlooked. Firstly Mitra alone is celebrated only in one hymn; secondly in the hymns addressed to Mitrāvaruṇau, Varuṇa is more preeminently glorified than his understudy, Mitra; and thirdly, even inspite of his essential character of a 'binder,' Mitra does not possess any *pāśa*, while Varuṇa's *pāśa*, which serve a double purpose, are often glorified (I. 24.15; I. 25.21; VII. 88.7; AṠ. IV. 16.6ff.). On the basis of this evidence a plausible hypothesis regarding the distinct domains of Mitra and Varuṇa may be hazarded. Bondage is of two types—by means of the bonds of friendship and by means of the bonds of slavery. The first type of bondage is usually brought about between equals, while the second type of bondage implies the unchallengeable superiority of the binder. Mitra presides over the bonds of friendship—agreements, contracts and treaties. Varuṇa produces through his *pāśa* an invisible net of magic, in which the whole creation is held in bondage, and also punishes the sinners against the cosmic and the moral law through his *pāśa*. As Güntert has pointed out, Mitra, as a friendly divinity, helps to bring about friendly bondage between man and man, and between god and man (IV. 44.5); he is particularly the guardian of human laws. Varuṇa, on the other hand, presides over an all-inclusive domain; his Law includes all laws. Moreover it is also suggested in the Vedic hymns that one is conscious when one breaks the law of Mitra. Varuṇa's law works in a very subtle way and there are often unconscious lapses against it (V. 85.8; VII. 89.3). It must however be remembered that this distinction between the domains

of Varuṇa and Mitra is never strongly emphasised in the Veda. Indeed Mitra falls into the background and may be regarded merely as one of the Ādityas. Varuṇa dominates this particular aspect of the Vedic religion and Mitra is reduced to the position of his understudy. The later Vedic ritualistic literature developed the originally slight distinction between the two gods in quite a different direction, which fact gave rise to a lot a misunderstanding regarding their primary character. The original conceptions represented by Varuṇa and Mitra had no place in the scheme of the Vedic ritual and consequently their essential personalities were greatly distorted so as to suit the ritualistic purpose.

The rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa forms an outstanding feature of the Vedic mythology. The most typical instance, in this connection, is the RV-hymn, IV. 42, which includes a 'War-talk between the two Gods.' The Vedic religious thought shows three very marked phases :

(1) The 'naturalism' pure and simple, when the Vedic thinker was struck by the vastness, brightness and profuseness of nature and therefore glorified several powers of nature as divine beings.

(2) Later on however he realised that this vast existence was not chaos but that it was cosmos ; there was some law which regulated and controlled all phenomena of nature, and there was a sovereign-lord who enforced the proper conduct of that law. This stage is represented by the Varuṇa—*ṛta*—conception.

(3) This ethical abstraction in religion could not for long satisfy the fighting and conquering Aryan tribes. The nature of a god is conditioned by the life of a people. The fighting Aryans created a warrior-god, Indra, who, for that time, surpassed all other gods.

The Vedic hymn, IV. 42, is a characteristic document of a revolution in the order of rank among gods, which seems to have taken place during the Vedic period ; it indicates the supersession of Varuṇa, who stood at the height of divine glory in the Aryan period, through Indra, the national war-god of the Vedic Indians. The old religious order made place for the new one,

on account of the changing circumstances of the Vedic people. This assumption might explain why Varuṇa's counterpart in the Avesta, Ahura Mazdah, was still glorified by the Iranians; there was no original counterpart of Indra to rival him in that religion. In the Vedic period also there was a group of Vedic Aryans, particularly the Vasiṣṭhas, who preserved and considerably glorified the ancient Varuṇa-religion. Serious attempts seem to have been generally made at the same time to bring about a compromise between the Varuṇa-religion and the Indra-religion, which fact is indicated by the Vedic passages such as,

वृत्राण्यन्यः समिधेषु जिह्वते
व्रतान्यन्यः अभिरक्षते सदा ।

Indra 'conquers', but it is Varuṇa who 'rules.' Thus there are to be seen, in the Vedic hymns, three distinct phases of the relation between Varuṇa and Indra, namely, Varuṇa's unchallenged superiority to all gods, a compromise between the functions of Varuṇa and Indra, and finally Varuṇa's supersession through Indra. All the same the spirit of rivalry between *asura* Varuṇa and Indra characterises a large part of the Vedic literature and ritual. The difference in the essential natures of these two gods is reflected, as Bergaigne has pointed out, in the very prayers addressed to them. Indra is the ideal of a fighting and conquering people; as his very name would indicate he is the symbol of manly vigour and physical strength; he is often represented in the Veda as an inveterate divine bully, ever indulging in drinking and fighting. He possesses all the virtues and also the weaknesses of a manly hero. Varuṇa, on the other hand, is represented as the highly spiritualised and idealised protector of law. In contrast to Varuṇa, Indra, as the national war-god, was celebrated in a very large number of myths. It is likely that the rivalry, in the Vedic religion, between the Aryan war-god, Indra, and the *asura* was accentuated through the historical rivalry between the Aryans and the Assyrians, there being perhaps created in the minds of the people a confusion between the names, *asura* and Assyrians, as the result of the linguistic phenomenon of folk-etymology. If this hypothesis were to be correct it may throw some light upon the question of

the relation between the Vedic civilisation and Indus-valley civilisation.¹

The rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa would give us the necessary starting point for the discussion of how the world-sovereign Varuṇa of the RV was transformed into the god of ocean in the classical Hindu mythology. The deterioration in Varuṇa's religious supremacy began with the ascendancy of Indra. But the central conception represented by Varuṇa developed in quite a different direction. In India metaphysical thought evolved out of mythological imagery. As Deussen has pointed out the later Indian metaphysical speculations were founded on the older religious conceptions. In the mystic Upaniṣadic doctrine of *brahman*, a critical observer would find the metaphysical development of the Varuṇa-religion in the Veda. The teaching of *mukti-mokṣa* may also be traced back to the conception of the *pāśa* of Varuṇa. The spiritual side of Varuṇa's personality—or, in other words, the essential nature of Varuṇa—was thus preserved and philosophically modified. What remained of his divine sovereignty, after Indra's rise, was divided among several gods. An independent god was created to preside over every region, over which Varuṇa is represented, in the Veda, to be ruling. There remained only the ocean, which came into prominence in later times. The imperial ruler was reduced to the position of a provincial governor; Varuṇa became the god of ocean. Varuṇa's special connections with waters described in the Veda (II. 28.4; II. 38.8; V. 85.3; V. 85.6; VII. 87.1; VIII. 41.2; X. 75.2; AV. VII. 83.1), the conceptions of the 'upper' ocean and the 'lower' ocean in the Vedic cosmography, and the usual tendency to regard ocean as the repository of all mysteries, must have facilitated this transition

¹ A hypothesis may be hazarded in this connection. Indra is often called *purandara* (the breaker of cities) in the Veda. The Indus Valley civilisation as represented at Mohenjodaro and Harappa is primarily characterised by what may be called city-culture. Can it be that the nomadic Aryans under the leadership of *purandara* Indra destroyed that culture? Indra was also later on regarded as an enemy and the greatest conqueror of *asuras* (the original basis of this conception being the rivalry in the Vedic religion between *asura* Varuṇa and Indra). Is it therefore further possible that the Indus civilisation was Assyrian civilisation? Does the evidence of seals discovered in the Indus valley and Central Asia support the above assumption?

to a certain extent.¹ It is very likely, as Kretschmer has indicated, that a linguistic phenomenon also influenced this transition. In one Boghazköi inscription the name of Varuṇa is mentioned as *a-ru-na-aš-ši-el*. This may have been confused later on with *aruna*, which word means 'sea' in the Hittite language. The Hittite word, *aruna*, is linguistically connected with Sk. *arṇa*, *arṇava*. The process of the transformation in the personality of Varuṇa may thus have started, perhaps independently, in Central Asia.

¹ Roth says in this connection: 'When, on the one hand, the conception of Varuṇa as the all-embracing heaven had been established, and, on the other hand, the observation of the rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth and to the sea had led to the conjecture that there existed an ocean enclosing the earth in its bosom, then the way was thoroughly prepared for connecting Varuṇa with the ocean.'

Whatever the forces which may have dethroned Varuṇa from his high ethical eminence to be a mere ruler of the storms and tides, the dethronement was, according to Macnicol, 'an event in the spiritual history of India that was at once a symptom and a determinant of the long, succeeding process of its development. The "Hebraic flavour" that was in Varuṇa was then definitely declared to be foreign to the Indian spirit, and since that day its indications have been rare.'

THE BUDDHISTIC CONCEPTION OF DHARMA ¹

BY

Dr. P. T. RAJU, M.A., Ph.D., Sastri

Andhra University, Waltair.

The highest reality, according to the Buddhists, is the Dharma or Law of the universe, which is identified with the Dharmakāya of Buddha. The word *dharma* has a peculiar meaning and is full of significance. Max Müller writes : " Dharma, in the ordinary Buddhist phraseology, may be correctly rendered by law. Thus the whole teaching of Buddha is called the Good Law, Saddharma. But in our treatise ² dharma is generally used in a different sense. It means form (*eldos*), and likewise what is possessed of form, what is therefore different from other things, what is individual, in fact, what we mean by a thing or an object." That is, the Buddhists have already noticed the identity (*tādātmya*) of the thing and its form, the so-called particular and the universal. Max Müller continues : " The meaning has escaped most of the translators, both Eastern and Western, but if we were always to translate dharma by law, it seems to me that the whole drift of the treatise would be unintelligible." Stcherbatsky tells us that the word dharma means elements. ³ But then what is Dharmadhātu ? Sogen writes : " Of the Sanscrit word *Dharma*, as used in Buddhist philosophy, we might say the same thing which has been said of its Latin equivalent, ' res ' viz., that it is a blank cheque which has to be filled in accordance with the exigencies of the context. ' *Dharma* ' means, in Buddhist Sanskrit, *law, rule, faith, religion, world, phenomena, thing, state*, etc." ⁴ Mrs. Rhys Davids writes : " Again, dhamma is often translated, especially by men of Buddhist countries, by ' law. ' If by this is meant that inward monition which St.

¹ Extract from the author's *Idealistic Thought of India* (to be published).

² *Vajrachchedika*, p. xiv (S. B. E. Vol. XLIX).

³ *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, pp. 3 and 5.

⁴ *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, pp. 113-4,

Paul called the 'law' (*nomos*), wherewith he fought his lower nature, the rendering is not amiss. But there is a tendency to read into it the newer idea of natural uniformity (popularly called the laws of science).¹ In another place she writes: "And if *dhamma* or *dharma* be a term vital in a great religion, it will have the urge of the forward in it, not of the standing still, the maintaining. It is the force of the Ought in this word that we must get in translating. We have it in 'duty', we have it in conscience.' Yet since neither term coincides with the 'Oughtness' in *dhamma*, it is better not to render *dhamma* by the partly less, partly other of either of these terms. Moreover, the word *dhamma* has in the history of Buddhism its history. When Gotama, the founder of the Sakya-son's mission, started to teach, the word *dhamma* was there, though as yet little used. Deliberately, we are told, and told with utmost emphasis, he chose it to mean that immanent God-head of his day, the Thou art That of the Upanishads, whom alone he held meet that he should worship."² Evidently Mrs. Rhys Davids understands by the term the ideal reality that one ought to realise, and is opposed to understanding it as law in the sense of a description of the behaviour of things. That is, she understands by it something like the moral law but not the natural law.

Oldenberg writes: "Things or substances, in the sense of something existing by itself, as we are accustomed to understand by these words, cannot ... be at all thought of by Buddhism. As the most general expression for these things, the mutual relation of which the formula of causality explains,³ the being of which one might almost say, is their standing in that mutual relation, the language of the Buddhists has two terms: *Dhamma* and *Sankhara*: one may give an approximate rendering of them by 'order' and 'formation.' Both designations are really synonyms: both include the idea that, not so much something ordered, a something formed, as rather a self-ordering, constitutes the subject-matter of the world."⁴ Oldenberg's insight has

¹ *Sakya or Buddhistic Origins*, p. 169.

² *Gradual Sayings*, Vol. I, p. viii.

³ That is, *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

⁴ *Buddha*, p. 250. (Eng. Tr. 1928).

discovered two important aspects of this idea, namely, that what *dharma* means is almost the same as *saṃskāra*, and that things are not ordered according to a law which is, distinct from them, but that the two are identical (*tādātmya*), and so the ordering is really a self-ordering. It is like the universal producing the particulars that conform to it, so that there is really no distinction between the particular and the universal. The *saṃskāras* or the *vāsanās*, which are really the elements of identity, continue from one momentary existence to another of things so that they become really descriptive of their nature and thereby their laws even in the sense of natural laws. But as there is no real differences between the universal and the particular, the law and the thing, both are called *dharma* by the Buddhists.

Dr. E. J. Thomas writes: "All Indian religions are dominated by a single conception, which goes back to pre-Indian times. In both Vedic and Old Persian it is expressed by the same word meaning 'law'. It is the view that all things follow or ought to follow a certain course prescribed for them. This course is based upon actual nature and constitution of the existing world, through which the sun rises duly, the seasons return, and each individual part performs its own function. From the later Vedic period we find this conception expressed as *dharma* covering every form of human action.¹" That is, for Dr. E. J. Thomas, *dharma* is both a natural law and an Ought. It is a word which connotes both a norm and a description.

This difficulty in understanding *dharma* is to be found not only in Buddhism but also in Hindu orthodox philosophy. *Dharma* means a law of nature; but it also means a social law, the *varṇāśramadharma* or the rule of caste and *āśrama*; the moral law or the Ought, for example, the *dharma* of *ahiṃsā* or non-violence; good acts like charity etc.; the nature of things as in the words like *manodharma* or the nature of mind and *vastudharma* or the nature of things. Bhimacharya Jhalakikar in his *Nyāyakośa* gives three chief meanings of the word. It means the *ādheyapadārtha*, anything that rests on something else and characterises it. It need not be merely a quality like colour but another thing as well. Secondly, it means a quality or property. It

¹ *The Life of Buddha*, p. 173.

may be that by virtue of which man obtains prosperity or liberation ; or a special cause of happiness, an unseen entity (*adṛṣṭu*) gained by the performance of one's duties ; or meritorious acts like charity. Thirdly, it means that which prompts one to action. This is the view of the Mīmāṃsakas. Of them, again, Kumāṛila thinks that *dharma* is sacrifice etc. , (*yūgādi*) and Prabhākara that it is merit called *apūrva*, the last being a peculiar quality which the agent gets by his performance of sacrifices, or a state into which the sacrifices, enter before fructification. The first meaning given by Jhalakikar corresponds to the purely descriptive law, because the descriptive law is the description of some characteristics, qualities, or properties. The third corresponds to the Ought ; it is a law which is a religious or moral injunction. The second seems to combine the features of the first and the third, because it also means some property acquired by obeying the Ought.

Is there nothing common to all these meanings ? Why have the Hindus and the Buddhists alike used the word *dharma* in so many different senses ? How could the disciples of Buddha understand him if the word bore so many different meanings ?

We find similar phenomena even in Western thought. Does matter mean the same thing in the history of European philosophy ? Do all the Western psychologists mean the same thing by the word mind ? Or to take a more important idea, the idea of the real. By this word certainly all the Western philosophers do not mean the same thing. Nay, it does not mean the same thing in the same philosophical system, for instance of Bradley. It may be true that the connotation changes as the philosophical system develops. But as the connotation changes, it has to be admitted, the denotation too may change. That is, what we once regarded as the real may turn out to be what is not truly real. Something else may correspond to the word in its new meaning. At first we may not be quite clear in our meanings, but when we clarify them, the corresponding things may be discovered to be different. We are not here finding a new defence for the theory that connotation and denotation vary in inverse ratio. It means that what we once thought our word denoted is no longer denoted by it, but something else. But if the first thing still continues to be seen by us, the name we at first gave it may continue to be

used. Ambiguity arises, but is unavoidable. This is the case with many philosophical terms.

The objection to translate the word *dharma* by law, raised by Max Müller and Mrs. Rhys Davids, will lose its point when it is shown that there can be no real difference for the Hindu and the Buddhist between the descriptive law and the Ought. Max Müller wants to use the word 'form' or 'idea' in the Platonic sense. But for Plato, though the idea is an ideal or norm, it is also the universal that is common to all particulars and is therefore their law. For him even ordinary perception and therefore description involves the use of a norm, because every perception is always in essence a recognition of the norm. But we have to note that the Buddhist denies the reality of the universal (*jāti*), which Max Müller too knows.¹ When we see a dog, for instance, the perception is not of the form, "That is a dog," in which the dog appears as the universal or the predicate (*prakāra*), but the concrete individual dog. The distinction between the subject and predicate is our *kalpanā* or creation and the universal dog is therefore unreal and imaginary (*kalpita*). So as form separated from matter is false and is no object, the Buddhist seems to have called both form and matter taken together or separately by the name *dharma*. Our interpretation is supported by Oldenberg's perception of the connexion between the ideas of *dharma* and *samskāra* and of the identity of order and the ordered.

Dharma literally means that which holds, and in the highest sense it is what holds the universe. We may represent the Buddhist as maintaining that the Dharmakāya maintains the universe by being its Ought. It is that towards which the whole universe should move. Yet it is not a mere ideal; it is its true nature. That is, it is its law even in the descriptive sense of the word, for it is the *svabhāva* or real nature of phenomena. Nay, we may say that it is the highest universal or *sāmānya*, not in the Platonic sense of a form apart from matter or even distinct from matter, but as the truth of every form and matter. We find in the idea of the Dharmakāya the equation of the universal to law and that again to the Ought. This is the distinctive feature of Indian thought not to be found so definitely marked in Wes-

¹ *Vajrachhedika*, P. XV.

tern philosophy. We can trace a line of thought even in Western idealism tending towards this idea. And unless this identification is made, the much longed-for reconciliation between the sciences of life and those of nature cannot be accomplished. In fact, Plato's philosophy offered an instance of such identification, for his ideas are really ideals. But later the positivistic conception of science and its laws destroyed it and introduced chaos into philosophical speculation. Philosophy having lost connexion with life, has become intellectual gymnastics and we hear of constructions based upon this or that idea.

As law can mean both the universal and the Ought, the word *dhamma* is used in Buddhism to denote classes of events as well as the Ought. *Dharma* stands for entity: for instance, the Buddhists speak of *saṃskṛtadharma*s and *asaṃskṛtadharma*s, that is, the composite and non-composite entities, so that *ākāśa* and *Nirvāṇa*, which are non-composite, are also called *dharma*s, though they are called *dhātus*. Every entity that is determinate or indeterminate, with or without a form, is a *dharma*. But of these the highest *dharma* is the Dharmakāya. Because of the peculiar identification of the true 'is' and the Ought in Buddhistic philosophy, we find the usage strange.

That the Buddhists, particularly Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, call the highest reality Dharmadhātu is also significant. The highest reality not only seems to be the highest *dharma* but also the highest *dhātu*. Stecherbatsky writes: "Buddhist philosophy is an analysis of separate elements, or forces, which unite in the production of one stream (*saṃtāna*) of events. The unphilosophic mind of common people supposes this stream to represent a personality or an individual (*pudgala*). Viewed as components of such a stream, the elements are called *dhātus*. Just as different metals (*dhātus*) might be extracted out of a mine, just so does the stream of an individual life reveal elements of eighteen different kinds (*dhātu-gotra*)."¹ Then why is the Dharmakāya called the Dharmadhātu? Is it because it is the highest element extracted from the phenomenal world? Or is it because it is the highest element out of which the lower elements come? If *dhātus* at first meant for Buddhism the component parts of the

¹ *The Conception of Buddhistic Nirvana*, p. 9.

series of the stream of consciousness and so the material or stuff, then in the conception of the Dharmadhātu we find the ideas of matter and form meeting. The highest reality in Buddhism then is not only the law of the world but also the material cause. Vasubandhu explicitly says that the pure Vijñāna has to be postulated as the material cause of *saṃvṛti* or the empirical world. As Mrs. Rhys Davids says of *dharma* (we may add *dhātu* too) must have had its history in Buddhism. And though both ideas might have been used at first to denote something empirical, probably form and matter, formal and material cause, attribute and substance, it must have been discovered, as philosophical enquiry proceeded, that the two ultimately mean the same thing. And as the Mahāyāna describes after the *Prajñāpāramitās* the ultimate reality as indescribable, beyond thought and so forth, the real nature of *dharma* too is said to be beyond thought. While speaking of the final connotation of *dharma* Stcherbatsky writes : "But, although the conception of an element of existence has given rise to an imposing superstructure in the shape of a consistent system of philosophy, its inmost nature remains a riddle. What is *dharma*? It is inconceivable! No one will ever be able to tell what its real nature (*dharmasvabhāva*) is! It is transcendental!"¹ The central conception of Buddhism is *dharma*. But it is inexpressible, inconceivable, transcendental. This conception belongs even to *Abhidharmakośa*.

We have said, while discussing the view of *Abhidharmakośa*² that the word *dharma* may be translated by the word category. This translation does not conflict with translating *dharma* at other times by the word law. Students of European philosophy know that in Hegel's philosophy the lowest category develops into the highest, namely, the Absolute. Similarly the conception of *dharma* as a finite law may end in the conception of it as inexpressible, through the gradual identification of law and thing.

A word may be said here about the translation of the philosophical texts from one language into another. As it has been pointed out in a previous chapter, the philosophical stand-point in every country and in every system need not be the same.

¹ *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 75.

² Because *dharmas* are defined as *avabodhopayogināḥ padārthāḥ*,

And so we may not find in every language words corresponding exactly to the philosophical terms in another. The general tendency of the translator is to press the system translated into the terminology of some system with which he is familiar. And whatever does not fit in he calls inconsistent and unphilosophical. But it should be recognised that philosophy too is a growth or development from a particular stand-point or starting point, and its concepts change in connotation as the system develops. This is particularly true in the case of such concepts as those of truth and reality, which we are in search of. Concepts like reality, law, matter, mind, etc., do not mean the same in every philosophy, and even in the same philosophy they do not mean the same in the beginning and in the end. Because of the amorphous nature of the meaning of matter, materialism is becoming innocuous. Mind in many Western idealisms means both the finite mind and the supreme reality; and if it were to be translated into an Indian language the translator would find a similar difficulty to that which the Western translator finds with *dharma*. This means that no translation can be literal, in the sense that it contains no interpretation. There can be no exposition without any comparison at least tacit. Concepts and words in one language generally have associations different from those of another. And unless the translator is also a philosopher he can hardly render the full significance of the term translated. To attempt a merely literal translation may merely be to confuse the reader who may be new to the ideas and the text; and he may leave the book as an irrational and primitive attempt to understand the world.

The question why everything is a *dharma* does not seem to be much discussed. And only the Chinese and Japanese scholars who have chances of better acquaintance with the Buddhistic literature can elucidate the point. In the works available on Buddhism the author has not been able to find a clear and elaborate discussion that can satisfy a student of philosophy. And what has been said here is the author's understanding in the light of the Indian and Western idealistic thought. Dr. Thomas' understanding of the concept agrees with the general trend of Indian philosophy. The differentiation made by Max Müller

and Mrs. Rhys Davids can hold only if the natural law cannot mean the Ought also. That there is connexion between law as description and law as a norm we have shown in the previous chapters. We pointed out that the law or universal is a norm. Even ordinary perception is normative. To say "that is a horse" means the interpretation of the object in terms of the ideal horse. This view of perception is certainly Platonic, and for Plato the ideas though universals are norms. There is nothing strange and unphilosophical in our interpretation.

One may wonder how pure indeterminacy like the Dharma-kāya can be the highest law. To solve this difficulty let us consider the idea of the uniformity of nature. This certainly is the idea of empiricism and positivism. It was regarded as the presupposition of all the general propositions in logic for a long time. But later it was found that nature was not uniform but a unity, and the presupposition of all general propositions is not the uniformity of nature but its unity. Uniformity means that everywhere nature is the same; but it has been pointed out that no two events in nature are alike in every respect, and so the principle of the unity of nature was substituted for its uniformity. But this substitution means a transition from positivism to metaphysics. For what is this unity? It is the totality of real things, each implying the other, so that nature stands in logic as a single system. Without the assumption of such a unified system of reality logic, it was thought, cannot stand. No inference can be true if such a reality does not exist. Or let that system exist or not, its truth is presupposed if logic is to be valid. But we cannot stop at this point. For what is this system? It is nothing but the so-called objective or common world. The objective world is the common world, and it is not the mere private world of the subject. Naturally man has to start with the objects as he perceives them. Because of our differences of stand-points and mental constitutions the objects as perceived by the individuals are not exactly identical. That is, the precepts of all the individuals are not precisely the same. The particulars have to be universalised and constructed through interconnection into a system, which becomes the reality. Though the percepts are different for each individual, the universals are the same for all. Thus what we call a common world

is a system of universals or universal judgments. The conclusion so far is strange enough and is unexpected by the ordinary man; because the common world for him is not composed of universals or universal judgments, but is an aggregate of particular things. But the view developed is Bosanquet's and we may say, is on the whole representative of Hegelian idealism. That is, if the common world is the meeting point of the experiences of all minds, then that meeting point is really a system of universal judgments. This again means that the so-called common world is a system of laws for the law is the same as the universal judgment. Then it is the law that is the real object. It is what is really objective, and the so-called particulars are more or less subjective or at least private. This is an astounding conclusion. If Bosanquet were a Buddhist, he would have said that the Dharmakāya is the only true objective reality and that it is a system of universals or universal judgments. It is significant that the *Laṅkāvatāra* compares the Dharmadhātu to the roads in a city which must mutually form an interconnected system. But what we call the common world, the factor of objectivity in our experience, is the real city. What is subjective or private we are prone to treat as unreal like the objects of imagination which are also private. But now that the common world is identified with reality, it becomes the source of the world as we see it; the Dharmakāya becomes the Tahtāgata-garbha. In this discussion we find that what we call the common things or the common world turns out to be the law of the universe and on further examination becomes the source of the universe. No wonder the Buddhists used *dharma* to denote the things of the universe, the law of the universe, and the source of the universe.

We now have to proceed still further. The Dharmadhātu or the highest *dharma* of Buddhism is certainly not a system. And the comparison by the *Laṅkāvatāra* of the reality to a system of roads has reference only to the lower aspect of the Ālaya. This aspect is relative to the world of plurality, and therefore it appears to be a system. The higher is simple Tathatā, though it is the source of everything; or, as Vasubandhu says, it is the material cause of the world of things, it is the stuff of which things are made, it is what is fully common to all minds. Some

of the *saṃskāras*, so far as they are not the idiosyncrasies of the individuals, are also common. And the lower *Ālaya* with such *saṃskāras* is therefore common to all. But such an *Ālaya* as is tainted by the *saṃskāras* cannot be the ultimate truth, that is, as the ultimate law it cannot be true. To contain *saṃskāras* is to contain determinations. And these determinations even in their potential state have reference only to the phenomenal world. Without reference to the phenomenal world the *saṃskāras* have neither significance nor existence. And as distinctions are therefore unreal, the ultimate reality cannot be a system. True existence is inexpressible; it is beyond all determinations. As it is the *svabhāva* or own nature of every thing, it is the law of all. That is how the Buddhists will conclude that the highest law of the universe is indeterminate. In the larger *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayasūtra* we read: "Emptiness is not different from form, form is not different from emptiness. What is form that is emptiness, what is emptiness that is form. Thus perception, name, conception, and knowledge also are emptiness."¹ That is, the final nature of everything is the *Śūnya*. According to the *Vijñāna-vādins* it is pure *Vijñāna*. But for all, though it is the stuff of the universe, the source of the universe and the law of the universe, it is incomprehensible. *Dharma* is beyond thought, though it is all these. Nay, it is also the objects we perceive. For is not *Nirvāṇa* identical with the world ultimately?

Thus, if the final unity of nature is the law of all laws, this unity, which is really the common world, which again boils down into a system of universal judgments, appears on deeper examination to be the indeterminate *Dharma* as understood by the Buddhists. It is incomprehensible, but it is real.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

BY

Dr. B. C. LAW, Ph.D., M.A., B.L., F.R.A.S.B.

I. THE KALINGAS

The Kalingas as a tribe are almost always associated with the Aṅgas and Vaṅgas in ancient Indian literature. These three tribes along with the Puṇḍras and Suhmas are said to have been named after the five sons of Bali, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma who were called Bāleya Kṣatra and also Bāleya brāhmaṇas.¹ These five tribes evidently then lived conterminously and had their distinct entities within respective geographical boundaries to which they gave the names of their respective tribes. The tradition referred to above is contained in the Purāṇas and the Great Epic according to which the sage Dīrghatamas had married king Bali's Śūdra nurse and had Kakṣivānt and other sons; and at Bali's desire begot on the queen Sudeśṇā the afore-said five sons. According to the Great Epic again² king Jarāsandha is said to have extended his supremacy over the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas and the Puṇḍras. In the Dronaparva,³ Vāsudeva is said to have once routed in battle the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas and the Paṇḍras along with other peoples. A town named Kalinganagara, evidently, one of the cities of the Kalinga people is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, on the west of the Gomati and not far from it.⁴ A Kalinga tribe is also referred to in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa⁵ as having their settlement on the Śatadru. Pargiter suggests that the reading is erroneous, for there seems to be no ground for thinking any Kalingas lived in Northern India.⁶ Moreover, the Vāyu Purāṇa⁷ in the same context reads

¹ Puranic tradition as contained in a number of Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṃśa. See the Dīrghatamasa story and its sequel. Compare Pargiter, AIHT, p. 158.

² Mahābhārata, XII, Chap. 5, 6607.

³ Ibid., Chap. 10, 15. ⁴ Ayodhyā K. lxxiii, 14, 15.

⁵ LVII, 37. ⁶ Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 316 note. ⁷ xlv, 116.

Kulindas instead which seems to be the correct reading. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa¹ mentions another people named the Arkaliṅgas along with the Kuntalas, Kāśis, Kośalas, Atharvas and the Malakas. Pargiter doubts this reading as well, because of the Vāyu Purāṇa reading which is different in the same context.² The Matsya Purāṇa reads Avantas and Kaliṅgas instead,³ but this is also hardly satisfactory in view of the fact that the Kaliṅgas are hardly known to have been associated with the Avantas and moreover that the Kaliṅgas are elsewhere described not only in the same Purāṇa but also in other Purāṇas as a people of the Southern region. The Mārkaṇḍeya, for example, says that they dwelt in the Southern region along with the Mahārāṣṭras, Mahiṣakas, Ābhīras, Vaiśikyas, Savaras, Pulindas and others.⁴ A number of famous Kaliṅga or Kāliṅga kings are mentioned in the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata⁵ and they are credited with having contracted matrimonial relations with princesses of the Aryan royal families of the north (e. g., Ādiparva, XCV, 3774-5, 3780; Droṇa Parva LXX, 2436). According to epic evidence as contained in the Mahābhārata,⁶ the Kaliṅga country comprised the entire tract of country lying along the coast of Vaitaraṇī in Orissa to the borders of the Āndhra country.⁷

The country of the Kaliṅgas is mentioned by Pāṇini.⁸ According to Baudhāyana, the country was branded as an impure one and was included in his list of *Samkīrṇa yonayah*.⁹ According to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra,¹⁰ elephants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga belonged to the best of their types, while those of Karūṣa, Daśārṇa, and Aparānta were only second in order of classification, those of the Saurāṣṭras and allied tribes (Saurāṣṭrikāḥ pañcajanāḥ) having been the worst.

The Jātakas contain a number of references to the Kaliṅga country and its kings. Thus for example, according to the Kumbhakāra Jātaka Karaṇḍu was a Kaliṅga and he was a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha. The Mahāgovinda suttanta makes Sattabhū, king of Kaliṅga, a contemporary of Reṇu, king of

¹ LVII, 33. ² Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 308 note. ³ CXIII, 36.

⁴ LVII, 46-47. ⁵ lxvii, 2701. ⁶ III, 114, 4.

⁷ Rai Chaudhuri, PHAI, 4th edn. p. 75.

⁸ IV, 1, 170. ⁹ I, i, 30-31. ¹⁰ II, 2.

Mithilā and of Dhataratṭha or Dhṛtarāṣṭra, king of Kāśī and Aṅga. The Jātakas also refer to the capital city of Kālīṅga which was Dantapurānagara which is probably identical with Dantakura mentioned in the Mahābhārata,¹ Dantapura of inscriptions.² Other cities of the Kālīṅga country are also known, e. g., Rājapura,³ Simhapura,⁴ which is probably identical with Singupuram near Chicacole,⁵ Kāñcanapura of the Jāinas,⁶ and Kālīṅganagara which has been identified with Mukhalingam on the river Vamśadharā.⁷ Kālīṅga (Kālīṅga) is mentioned in Niddesa.⁸ From Kālīṅga the Buddha's tooth was brought to Ceylon at the time of king Sirimeghavappa. A Kālīṅga king picked up a quarrel with Aruṇa, the Assaka king of Potali but was defeated and had to surrender.⁹ Susimā, a Kālīṅga princess was married to a king of Vaṅga.¹⁰ Vijayabāhu I married a Kālīṅga princess named Tilokasundarī.¹¹ Māgha, a prince of Kālīṅga did a great mischief to Ceylon.¹² Aśoka's brother Tissa spent his retirement in the Kālīṅga country with his teacher Dhammarakkhita.¹³

Important light on the history of the Kālīṅga people is thrown by Pliny, the classical historian. From the accounts of Diodorus, Curtius and Plutarch we know that at the time of Alexander's invasion, there were two very powerful people in the lower Gangetic Valley, the Parasii (Braisioi) and the Gangaridai whose king was Xandrammes or Agrammes. The capital city of the Prasii was Palibothra or Pāṭaliputra, while that of the Gangaridai was Gange at the mouth of the Ganges, according to the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea or at the junction of the Ganges leading to the Maga and Kamberikhon mouths respectively. Pliny adds a third important people viz. Eastern India at that time, these were the Kālīṅgas. He says, "The tribes called Kālīṅgas are nearest the Sea, and higher up are the Mandaei and the Malli, in whose country is mount Mallus, the

1 V, 48-76. 2 Epigraphia Indica, XIV, p. 361.

3 Mahābhārata, XIII, 4, 3. 4 Mahāvastu, Senart's edn. p. 432.

5 Dubreuil, AHD. p. 94. 6 Indian Antiquary, 1891, p. 375.

7 Epigraphia Indica, IV, 187, 8 Cullaniddesa, ii, 37,

9 Jātaka, iii, 3f. 10 Mahāvamsa, VI 1; Dipavamsa, ix, 2ff.

11 Cūlavamsa, lix, 30. 12 Ibid., lxxx, 58 foll.

13 Theragāthā Commentary, I, 506.

7 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

boundary of all that district being the Ganges...the final part of its course is through the country of the Gangaridaes. The royal city of Kalinga is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, and 7000 elephants keep watch and ward." An alternative reading of Pliny's text makes Gangaridae-Kalinga one people, having a king, a capital city and an army of their own. Pliny further mentions two more tribes which must have been allied with the Kalinga people proper, e. g., the Maccokalingae (Cf. modern Mukhalingam referred to above, or is it Mukhya Kalingāḥ, the main Kalingas ?) and the Modokalinga, both inhabiting an island in the Ganges. The capital city Parthalis of the Kalingae has been identified with Pūrvasthali, a large village about 20 miles from the present Burdwan town,¹ which however is not above criticism. In any case, from the description of Pliny, it is certain that the countries of the Gangaridae and the Kalingae were adjacent territories.

Agrammes or Xandrammes has been usually identified with Mahāpadma Nanda who was king of both Prasii and Gangaridae. Mahāpadma was supplanted by Candragupta Maurya who is referred to by Greek writers as having been king of Prasii but nowhere is he mentioned as king of Gangaridae as well. The well-known Kalinga expedition of Aśoka was perhaps directed against a probable Kalingae-Gangaridae combination of forces, suggested by an alternative reading of Pliny referred to above. In any case the Kalinga resistance must have been a very stiff one as is evident from the description in the 13th Rock Edict.

Kalinga is again lifted to historical prominence when Khāvela of the Ceta dynasty became anointed, when he had completed his 24th year, as Mahārāja of Kalinga. In his Hathigumpha cave inscription Kalinga finds mention for more than once and it is said in that very inscription that in the first year of his reign he repaired the gates and ramparts of his capital Kalinganagara identified with Mukhalingam.

We do not hear of the Kalinga or their country, so far at least north-Indian history is concerned, for a long time, in fact not until we reach the time when Yuan Chwang visited the country in about the 2nd quarter of the 7th century A. D. Kālidāsa,

¹ IHQ. IV, p. 55.

however, in his *Raghuvamśam* mentions both Utkala and Kalinga from which it is evident that they were two distinct countries. Yuan Chwang travelled from Odra to Kangoda whence he travelled through jungle and forest dense with huge trees, south-west for 1400 or 1500 li, to Kalinga (Ka-long-ka). According to him 'the country was above 5000 li in circuit, its capital being above 20 li. There were regular seed-time and harvest, fruits and flowers grew profusely, and there were continuous woods for some hundreds of li. The country produced dark wild elephants prized by neighbouring countries. The climate was hot...The people were...fast and clear in speech; in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from "Mid-India." There were few Buddhists, the majority of the people being of other religions. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries, and 500 brethren students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira School System. There were more than 100 Deva temples, and the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being nirgranthas.' ¹

Earlier however by about two centuries (i.e., 5th century A. D.) is the well-known Komarti grant ² which introduces us to a Śrī Mahārāja named Candravarman who is described as Kalingādhipati (lord of Kalinga). To his dynasty probably also belonged Umavarman and Viśakhavarman who were both evidently lords of Kalinga. To about the same date as that of the Komarti grant, may be ascribed the inscription of a certain Kalingādhipati Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman of the Māthara family who granted from Piṣṭapura (= Pithāpuram) the village of Rākaluva in the Kalinga-viṣaya. ³ In the Aihole inscriptions (634-35 A. D.). Pulakeśin II claims to have subdued the Kalingas along with the Kosalas and took the fortress of Piṣṭapura. ⁴ One at least of the Vākāṭaka kings is credited with having conquered the Andhra and Kalinga countries; he was Hariṣena, the father-in-law of Mādhavavarman the Viṣṇukundin. ⁵ Towards the middle of the seventh century Kalinga seems to have

¹ Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II. p. 198.

² Sewell, Historical inscriptions of Southern India, p. 18.

³ EP. Ind. XII, p. 1ff.

⁴ Ibid, VI. p. 4ff.

⁵ J. R. A. S, 1914, p. 137.

come, for a time at least under the Sway of Kāmarūpa. One of her kings, Harṣadeva or Śrī Hariṣa is described in a contemporary Nepalese inscription to have been the king of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga, Kośala and other countries.¹

Another references to Kalinga we find in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhanadevi, the queen of Gayā-Kaṇa of the Kalacuri dynasty, the grandson of the famous Lakṣmīkaṇa. It informs us that when Lakṣmīkaṇa gave full play to his heroism, Vaṅga trembled with Kalinga.² King Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty also seems to have inflicted a defeat on Kalinga as well as on Utkala and Kāmarūpa.³ King Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty is credited with having inflicted a defeat on the Kalingas whose king at that time was evidently Rāghava.⁴ The Madhainagar grant of Lakṣmaṇasena informs us that the Gauḍeśvara (i. e. Lakṣmaṇa) in his youth took his pleasures with the females of Kalinga.

The reference to Tri-Kalinga in some of the old records is very interesting. The South Indian dynasties that ruled in the northern districts of Madras, C. P. and Orissa assumed the title 'Lord of Tri-Kalinga' or Tri-Kalingādhipati.⁵ Kalinga evidently in a narrow sense, has always been distinguished in literature and sometimes also in epigraphs from Oḍra and Utkala and Kośala; but we must also take the Puranic statement into consideration that the Amarakaṇṭaka hill was situated in the western half of Kalinga (Kalingadeśe paścārdhe parvate Amara-kaṇṭake). Mention may also be made in this connection to Pliny's reference to three Kalingas in his time, already mentioned above in these notes; (1) the Gangaridae-Calingae, the Kalingas who lived contemporaneously with the Gangaridae, (2) the Macco-Calingae, either the Mekala-Kalingas or (Macco=Muka

¹ Ind. Ant. 1880, Vol. IX. p. 179, J. R. A. S. 1898, pp. 384-85; I. H. Q. 1927, p. 841.

² EP. Ind. Vol. II, p. 11.

³ Rāmacarita, II, 45 and 47.

⁴ Deopara inscription.

⁵ E. G. the Sonpur grant of Mahasivagupta Yayāti where the king is described as such. The same king is described in one of his grants as having been elected king of Kalinga, Kaṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala. Kaṅgoda is certainly the Kung-Yū-t'u of Yuan Chwang, when the pilgrim went to Ka-leng-ka, cf. the Narasapatam grant of Tri-Kalingādhipati Vajrahastadeva.

=three) the Muka-Kaliṅgas (perhaps identical with Mukha-liṅgam) and (3) the Calingae proper. The word Tilang which we meet with in some Arabic records¹ evidently is a corruption of this Trikaliṅga which is also responsible for the term Talaing used to designate the ancient people of Lower Burma or Ram-aññadesa who must have originally migrated from the Trikaliṅga countries. The term Kling applied to the people of Malay Peninsula must have originally been derived from Kaliṅga which seems to have been the original home of the Kling people.

2 KULĀTAS OR KULŪTAS

The *Kurmaniveśa* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 49) mentions a tribe called Kulaṭas, and another named Kuruṭas (LVII, 51). Both seem to be results of a confusion with the well-known tribe or people known in history as the Kulūtas. The *Kaṇva-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* refers to the latter which seems to be identical with the Kolūta or Kolūka of the *Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (XLIII, and annotations). Pargiter (Mark p. 382, note) long ago identified the land of the Kulūtas with the modern Kulu near the source of the Beas which is upheld by their reference in later literature of more reliable historical import.

The Kulūtas seem to have been a tribal republic. Inscriptions and coins testify to the existence of many such republics even in the days of Scythian invasions, among whom the Mālavas Yaudheyas, and Ārjunāyanas were the most important, the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kunindas and the Uttamabhadras being only second in rank (Camb. Hist. of India, Vol. I, pp. 528-29).

Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, refers to a country named Ku-lu-to (Watters, I, p. 298) to which place he reached from Jalandhara after having travelled north-east, across mountains and ravines, by hazardous paths, for above 700 li. The region, says he, was entirely surrounded by mountains. Its capital was 14 or 15 li in circuit. It had a rich soil and yielded regular crops, and it had a rich vegetation. The climate grew gradually cold and there was little snow. There were in the country twenty Buddhist monasteries with above 1000 brethren

¹ e. g. See Eliot, History of India as told by her own historians, Vol. III, p. 234.

of whom the most were Mahāyānists, a few adhering to the Hin-ayāna school. Of Deva temples there were fifteen and the professed non-Buddhists lived pell-mell. Cunningham long ago identified this Kiu-lu-to country of Yuan Chwang "with the position of the Kullu district in the Upper valley of Byās river." The position is roughly identical with the modern Kāngra district.

Another important reference to the Kulūta people is also found in the introduction of *Bālabhārata* or *Pracandapāṇḍava* of Rājasekhara wherein the poet describes the victories of Mahīpāla of the Pratihāra dynasty. Mahīpāla is there credited with having defeated the Kulūtas along with the Muralas, Mekalas, Kalingas, Keralas, Kuntalas and the Ramathas. (Nirṇayasāgar Press edn. of *Bālabhārata*, I, 7-8.).

3 THE RAMATHAS

The Ramathas seem also to have been a northern people living not far from the Kulūtas. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions a people named Ramatas (XLV, 117) while the *Matsya Purāṇa* refers to a people named Rāmāthas (CXIII. 42), both no doubt meaning the one and the same people, the Rāmāthas. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* (XLVII, 41) reads Rāmas instead and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Mātharas* (LVII, 37). The *Brhatsamhitā* places them in the western division of India along with the Pañcanadas, while the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in the reference cited above locates them in northern division along with the Kulindas.

The *Brhat Samhitā* contention that the Ramathas were a western people is upheld by the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā p. XXXI, 1195; Vana P. LI, 1991; Śānti P. LXV. 2430). The *Bhīṣma P.* mentions a people called Ramanas who also may be the same people as the Ramathas (IX, 374).

In the same context of the introduction of the *Bālabhārata* or *Pracandapāṇḍava* of Rājasekhara where we find Mahīpāla of the Pratihāra dynasty credited with having inflicted a defeat on the Kulūtas, we find also the Ramathas having shared the same fate at the hands of Pratihāra king. This will be evident from the following passage.

“ Namita-*Murala*-mauliḥ pākalo *Mēkalānām*
 raṇa-Kalita-*Kaliṅgāḥ* keli-taḥ *Kēraḥ*-ēndoh
 Ajani-jita-*kulūtaḥ kuntalānām*, kuṭhāraḥ,
 haṭha-hṛta-*Ramaṭha* Śrīḥ Śrī Mahīpāladevaḥ
 Tena ca Raghuvamśa-muktāmaṇinā-Āryāvarta-
 mahārājādhirājena
 ‘ Śrī-Nirbhayanarendra-nandanenādhikṛtāḥ

Sabhāsadaḥ sarvān... etc. ”

(Nirṇayasāgar Press, edn. I, 7-8).

4 THE PĀRADAS

The Pāradas, like the Barbaras and Daradas, seem to have been a barbarous hill tribe and are associated in the Purāṇic and Epic tradition with such rude tribes of the North (e. g. Mbh. Sabhā P. L. 1832 ; LI, 1869 ; Droṇa P. CXXI, 4819). In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata, they are associated with the Kulindas and Taṅgas (LI, 1858-59). They are mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa (chap. 88) as well as in the Harivaṃśa (I, 14). The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* at one place (LVII, 37) locates them along with the Kaliṅgas, the Hārabhūṣikas, Mātharas (Ramaṭhas) etc., while at another place (LVIII, 31) with the Śūdras, the Barbaras, the Kirātas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Pāraśavas etc. In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata (LI, 1858-59), the Pāradas are said to have dwelt on the river Śāliodā along with the Khasas and the Taṅgas. A collation of epic and purāṇic tradition referred to above shows that the tribe is found mentioned in a list of barbarous and rude tribes with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pahlavas. Khasas, Māhiṣikas, Coḷas, Keralas, etc. The *Harivaṃśa* states (XIII, 763-64 ; XIV. 775-83) that king Sagara degraded them and ordered them to wear their hair-locks long and dishevelled (*muktakeśa*); according to the same authority they were *mlecchas* and *dasyus*. The people also find mention in *Manusmṛti* where it is said that they were originally Kṣatriyas, but were degraded owing to extinction of sacred rites etc. (X. 43-44). At least one reference in the Great Epic connects the people with the Ābhīras (Sabhā P. L. 1832).

The rock Edicts of Aśoka give a list of territories that were occupied by vassal tribes ; among them figures a tribe named Palidas along with the Andhras, Bhojas and Raṭhikas. The

Palidas have often been identified with the Pulindas, but Hultzsch does not accept this identification in view of the fact that the Kālsi and Girnar version of the relevant portion of the Edicts have the variants Pālada and Pārimda. Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri thinks that these variants "remind us of the Pāradas." If that be so, then the association of the Pāradas with the Andhras in Asokan inscriptions would suggest 'that in the Maurya period they may have been in the Deccan. But the matter must be regarded as not definitely settled' (PHAI., 4th edn. p. 259).

Dr. Rai Chaudhuri further points out (ibid) that a river Pāradas (identified with the Paradi or Par river in the Surat district) is mentioned in a Nasik inscription (Rapson, Andhra coins. lvi).

According to ancient Indian historical tradition as contained in the epics and the purāṇas, the pāradas were one of the allies along with others, namely, the Śakas, the Kambojas, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, of the Haihaya-Tāla-janghas that drove Bāhu, the eighth king in descent from Hariścandra, from his throne (Pargiter, AIHT, p. 206, 268 and f. n.). Pargiter places all these tribes in the north-west.

REGIONAL AND DYNASTIC STUDY OF SOUTH INDIAN MONUMENTS*

BY

H. D. SANKALIA

The history of the discovery of ancient monuments in India is hardly a hundred years old. It was in 1870 that General Cunningham began a systematic study of the monuments in Northern and Central India. He was followed a few years later by Dr. Burgess, who confined his attention to the exploration of certain parts of Western and Southern India.

The researches of these pioneer workers in Indian archaeology were systematized and commented on by Fergusson, Grunwedel and later by Foucher and Vogel. By 1910 it appeared that we knew fairly well the broad characteristics of Indian monuments then known. Thus, for instance, the earliest known monuments—caves, pillars and so forth were recognized to be of the Maurya period; those from the North-west Frontier and the Punjab as Gandhāra or Indo-Greek; the specimens from Mathurā as Kushāna and all the work of the 4th-8th century was known as Gupta, whether it was found in the region actually ruled by the Guptas or not.

In South India the monuments of early period were attributed to the Sātavāhanas, Cālukyas, Pallavas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas respectively.

The monuments of the mediaeval period, of which the temples only survive, were and are still divided into North Indian and South Indian or Dravidian, and the former sub-divided into further three groups.

Owing to so wide an outlook, which was natural in the infant stage of the study of Indian monuments, any new monument that was found, was grouped under the one or the other class mentioned above, irrespective of its time and geographical context. The result was that not only our knowledge of these monu-

* Extension Lecture given at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on Friday, 8th March, 1940.

ments remained vague, but we missed the cultural aspects of any monument or group of monuments in a particular region at a given period.

Mr. Codrington of the India Museum, London, was the first to show his discontent with this state of affairs, though two French scholars before him, Prof. Foucher in 1905 and Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil in 1916, had made a regional study of the Gandhāra and South Indian monuments respectively. On Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil's work I will have to speak at some length later. Mr. Codrington in his two books *Ancient India* and *Mediaeval Sculpture* tried to define the limits of the Gupta art and architecture and warned us not to drag anything and everything properly post-Gupta into the Gupta period. He was followed by Ludwig Bacchoffer who confined his work to defining the characteristics of Indian Sculpture of the early period.

The case of the succeeding period in Northern India has not yet improved. Pioneer workers in the field classified the temples, which are the principal monuments of the period, into two or three types of temples. This was a good working definition some 30 years ago, but now we should improve upon it and define clearly what actually are the monuments of the early mediaeval dynasties, the Gurjara-Pratihāras for instance, who ruled over practically the whole of North India or the Candellas, the Paramāras, the Caulukyias or Solankis of Gujarāt.

For want of systematic study of the temples, even apart from architecture, our knowledge of iconography as well as of the temples themselves as repositories of particular cults is vague. Early attempts in the study of Hindu Iconography have mixed up archaeology with literary antiquarianism. We do not know, for example, what the actual or archaeological evolution of the Śaiva pantheon is in the south and in the north; what again, for instance, the earliest image of Gaṇeśa is, when it came to be so popular as to find a place in all the Hindu and even Jaina temples.

Dr. Bhattacharyya's work on Buddhist Iconography suffers from the same defects as Gopinath Rao's on the Hindu Iconography. It does not tell us of the evolution of the Buddhist pantheon in Western India, for instance. This remains to be

worked out as I will explain later. But nothing has been done for Jaina Iconography since Burgess wrote in 1903. I have, however, dealt at some length with the subject as to how it should be approached from the theoretical or śāstric and the archaeological points of view in an article in the *New Indian Antiquary*¹ and recently in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*.²

These are some of the problems that should engage our immediate attention in the study of the ancient Indian archaeology.

In the prehistoric period our efforts have to be directed at finding out the extent, for instance, of a type of culture represented by megalithic monuments such as Dolmens, numerous specimens of which have been found all over South India, and recently near Poona; whereas we have yet to make a beginning in building up our palaeolithic and neolithic periods and to connect them up with that of the Chalcolithic period discovered in Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab. But this Indus culture itself stands unrelated elsewhere in India, though affinities with it have been found in the Near East.

For the working out of these problems I suggest a detailed and exhaustive study of the monuments of a particular region, and wherever possible of the dynasty that ruled over it. The dynasty and the region are to serve as a norm, or standard, to measure our results with. They may have to be given up or modified as necessity arises. This method was followed by me in my study of the archaeology of Gujarāt with a few but striking results.

The aims of such a study are threefold:—

Firstly, to obtain as much precise knowledge as possible with regard to the development of various styles in architecture and sculpture.

Secondly, to know exactly the position of different cults, Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, for instance, in a given region at a given time.

Thirdly, to enable us to search for monuments of a particular type or dynasty in a region where it has not been found, but which lies within a certain cultural belt.

The method of study takes two forms.

¹ *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies*, 1940, pp. 335-358.

² Vol. I, p. 163.

In the first, where we know a certain dynasty to be ruling over a particular region, it is advisable to start with a detailed analysis of its records, viz. the inscriptions, noting in particular their find-spots,
the places from which they are recorded,
the places referred to by them,
the references to temples or other monuments.

From this material we can prepare a skeleton geography of the region and use it in our study of the monuments of that region. Of course, we would derive the greatest advantage from this epigraphical study, if it could help us in dating the monuments.

The next step is to study the known monuments in detail analysing their masonry, architecture, sculpture, iconography and other features and then classify the material so gathered into groups such as architecture, sculpture, iconography, following in each group a chronological order, as far as possible, based either on dated works, or on reasons of stylistic development or on both.

The results so obtained in any branch of the subject can be used for comparing them with those of the neighbouring region, or for finding out similar things from the hitherto unexplored parts of the same region. It was thus that we discovered some monuments in the Poona District this term (November-March 1939-1940). In short, we go from the known to the unknown.

Our dynastic knowledge is, however, incomplete. Therefore, in the majority of cases a regional study will have to be attempted, and wherever dynastic knowledge is available it must needs be examined afresh as mentioned above.

The subject of today's paper 'The Regional and Dynastic Study of the Monuments of South India' forms really a course of twelve lectures which I have selected for the students of the Institute. In the first lecture, I dealt with only the prehistoric sepulchre monuments in South India and the Deccan. I cannot and would not follow a similar procedure this evening. For the very nature of the lecture, I think, sets two limits to it. First, it must be exhaustive, surveying the monuments of South India, at the same time, pointing out the scope of the work that remains

to be done with regard to them; in the second place, the paper must be a study giving the results of my researches. Since it is not possible to deal with the subject in its entirety, I propose to divide the lecture into three parts. In the first part, I shall give a brief survey of the monuments, indicating the problems that require to be worked out; in the second, put before you the results of my study of a section of the monuments, and in the third, illustrate both the above parts of the lecture with lantern slides, prepared from my photographs.

Unlike the monuments of North India, some of the South Indian monuments have been studied not only often but well. As far back as 1916 Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil wrote his *Archeologie Du Sud Du Linde, Dravidian Architecture and Pallava Antiquities* studying in great detail the two aspects of South Indian monuments, viz. Architecture and Iconography. The last two books still remain a model on which further studies should be based, for the method followed therein is exactly the one I suggest. But it is necessary to revise his book on the *Arch. of South India*, firstly, because some more material has come to light since Jouveau Dubreuil wrote; secondly, the subject he has tried to study is too vast; it should be first split up regionally and studied in detail as he did the Pallava monuments; thirdly other aspects of the monuments should also be included in that study.

The study should comprise all the monuments prehistoric, or of prehistoric-type, and historical upto about 1700 A. D.

With a view to achieving the ends mentioned just now, the entire peninsular region, the ancient Dakṣiṇāpatha, for convenience's sake, may be divided into 4 divisions; the first division would consist of the Deccan and the Karnataka, embracing more or less the Western upper half of the peninsula, between the Tapti and the Tungabhadra.

The second division would be formed by the country including Mysore and further south, the part of ancient Karnataka, Kerala and Pāṇḍya territories.

The third division would cover the ancient Āndhradeśa, the eastern upper half of South India, the region between the Godawari and the Krishna, including principally the Telugu speaking districts, of Kistna and Guntur.

In the fourth and the last division would fall the lower eastern half of the peninsula, the ancient Tondamandalam and the Colamandalam of the Sangam classics, comprising the modern Nellore, N. Arcot, S. Arcot, Chingleput, Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts.

The above four divisions are not absolutely arbitrary. To a certain extent they could be so divided linguistically. And in ancient times, the rule of the various dynasties, the Sātavāhanas, Āndhras, Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Pallavas and others was more or less co-extensive with the divisions set forth above. In fact it is this knowledge which has enabled us to divide South India in this way.

The early monuments of the Deccan consist principally of caves. Beginning with Burgess, Fergusson and Bhagwanlal Indraji, many others have written upon them. Some of these caves, e. g., the Caitya cave at Karli and the sculptures at Bhaja are the best figured monuments in India, ranking with the Taj. But we do not still know what the exact architectural and sculptural development was in these caves of the Deccan. What again is the position of Buddhist iconography in Western India? What is the number of the images of its pantheon? These are some of the problems which should now be tackled. It can be done if all the caves are studied systematically, region by region, and the start can well be made with the Poona and Thana Districts.

For the early period there is enough material to work upon. But what about its predecessors, the proto- and the pre-historic periods? Since the beginning of this century the search for palaeolithic and neolithic remains came to be neglected in India, when Mohenjodaro came to its rescue and created an interest in finding out lost cities and cultures.

But we have still to go beyond this period of Mohenjodaro, not only in Sind but in other parts of India as well. And in this march backwards, the contribution of this part of the Deccan is yet negligible. Agreeing with some archaeologists that, in the Deccan the trap-rock is too near the surface to allow gigantic artificial mounds to be formed on ancient sites which we could excavate, still our attention could be turned towards the search for purely palaeolithic and neolithic finds. A few years ago, some

palaeoliths were found from the river gravel, some 20 miles upstream from Poona, and they are now resting in the British Museum. A virgin area near and around us awaits exploration. Only there is a dearth of seekers after truth in stones. I expect that in no distant future adequate provision would be made in our Institute for this kind of study and we shall not be wanting in young students who would zealously roam about the river valleys and mountain-scarps and tell us something of the dim past of the Deccan.

The period between A. D. 300-600 requires clarification. While it is true that many of the cave-temples belong to the Śaka and Sātavāhana regimes in the Deccan, there are some which do not. In fact we have yet to disentangle these and other monuments of the lesser dynasties that ruled under the Sātavāhanas or independently of them, for example, the Cutu Satakarnis, and Kadambas who preceded the Cālukyas of Bādami. For this it is necessary to prepare regional geographies in the manner mentioned previously, and then explore those areas with a view to finding out the monuments of a dynasty, a few references to which may be found in its inscriptions. Some monuments of the early Kadambas were thus discovered by Father Heras and Mr. Moraes.

In the 6th century we find the W. Cālukyas in the Karnataka. Many of their monuments are fortunately dated and their geographical distribution known. Maṅgaleśa carved out the Vaiṣṇava cave at Bādami in about A. D. 570. Pulkeśin II patronized the Jaina temple at Aihole, an event immortalized by the poet Ravikīrti in an inscription from that place; whereas Vikramāditya II built the famous temple of Virūpākṣa at Pattadakal for his chief queen after he took Kanchi in A. D. 734. All these monuments are situated in the Bijapur District.

What remains to be done in the study of these monuments is the preparation of a clear and detailed analysis of the architecture, sculpture, iconography; secondly, the tracing out of the cultural influences of and on these monuments, and lastly the exact identification and reconstruction of the Pauranic mythology as portrayed in the caves at Bādami and the temple at Pattadakal.

The W. Cālukyas were ousted from the Deccan and Karnataka by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in A. D. 750. Their only monuments

known so far are the caves at Ellora, particularly the Kailāsa, which was excavated during the regime of Krishna I. Detailed descriptions of these caves appeared in Burgess' *Arch. Survey of W. India* and *Cave Temples of India*. Since then numerous works have appeared, each using some part of the material according to its requirements. But we do not still know the archaeology of the Deccan during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period; that is between 750 and 970 A. D., embracing the architecture, sculpture, iconography, weapons, tools, dress etc. as portrayed in the caves at Ellora. A memoir embodying these particulars with accurate sketches of the things mentioned above will not only be useful in itself but will be also useful for comparing the results with those from outside the Deccan.¹

What of the structural remains of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas? They have been found so far neither in the Deccan nor in Karnataka, because they have been sandwiched between the two layers of the monuments of the earlier and later W. Cālukyas. They could be extricated only by the process referred to above with regard to the Kadambas. I have myself collected all the necessary material from their inscriptions, but the actual field work remains to be done.¹

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were again succeeded by the W. Cālukyas in the 10th century. On their becoming weak in the 12th century the supremacy over the Deccan passed into the hands of their feudatories, the Yādavas of Devagiri.

This was a period of rapid changes in the Deccan as elsewhere in India. Moreover, a new political and cultural force, viz. Islam, had begun to spread in India. We have, therefore, to examine and demarcate clearly not only between the monuments of the different dynasties in the Deccan but study also the effect of the Muslim impact on the style of monuments.

The problem with regard to the later W. Cālukyan monuments is first to spot them out from amongst the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Yādava and Hoysala monuments in the Deccan and Karnataka; secondly to compare their style with that of the early Cālukyas at Badāmi and Pattadkal, and thirdly to look out for the effect of the Muslim influence, if any.

¹ Since writing this, considerable work has been done towards the preparation of a memoir on The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Archaeology by my Department.

Some monuments of the Yādavas clearly betray the effect of the Muslim contact. But we have to see when exactly the Muslim influence began to make itself felt on the Deccan monuments, and then to set out on stylistic ground the chronological development of the monuments subsequent to this impact. In short we have to examine the application of the term 'Hemadpanti,' which is popularly and even archaeologically applied to the monuments of the Deccan after the 10th century. We made a small beginning in this study by taking up the examination of the so-called Hemadpanti monuments in the Poona District, the results of which may be briefly narrated here.

Our study began with a first-hand examination of the temple at Ambarnāth, which though outside the Poona District, has the advantage of being dated. This temple cannot be called 'Hemadpanti' in the true sense of the word, but other temples, for instance, at Balsane and Pāṭnā in the Khandesh District seem to be its early works.

In the Poona District we examined two monuments which have not been examined before. The first was the temple at Pur, some 12 miles W. of Junnar, near Nanaghat. It is not fully Hemadpanti, but like the temple at Balsane, it is a late Yādava work of the 13th century; the other was a step-well at Belha, 21 miles S. E. of Junnar. This is also of the Yādava period, but it may be a little later than the temple at Pur.

So far no monuments of this nature of the Yādava period were discovered in the Poona District; but these finds point to the necessity of a further exploration of the District, an enquiry which is the direct result of a regional study.

Going further down the south, geographically as well as chronologically, we come to S. Karnataka and Mysore, the countries watered by the Krishna, the Tungabhadra, and the Kaveri. Here the Mysore Arch. Survey has been working on the lines indicated in this paper, and the results also are published in great detail. Therefore with some more study we could know the whole archaeology of the Hoysala period, for instance. Only the monuments of the Gangas of Talkad, which are buried under sand dunes on the Kaveri, await the spade of the archaeologist. These mounds when excavated are expected to carry us back to the 5th century A. D.

With the Hoysalas we take leave of the so-called ancient monuments in the western South. For the monuments at Vijayanagara, Bijapur, Ahmadnagara, Golconda, and Seringapattam, for example, usher in the mediaeval period. But I shall make a few comments on their architectural style when I show the illustrations.

Turning now to the eastern side of S. India, we have to first consider the monuments of the Āndhradeśa. Barring the megalithic monuments of prehistoric type, the other early monuments so far found are Buddhist. They are all situated in the lower basin of the Krishna. Of these, those which stand out prominently are the remains of stupas and monasteries at Amravati, Jagayyapetta and Nāgārjunakonda, all built during the rule of the Āndhra and Ikṣvāku dynasties, between the 1st century B. C. and the 3rd century A. D. Burgess published his reports on the first two in 1883, whereas the last, Nāgārjunakonda, was discovered as late as 1928 and the report on it published in 1936. The published material has been used for various purposes. But we have still to see a work or works which will arrange the sculptures chronologically on stylistic grounds and then analyse them with a view to getting as much light as possible on social, religious and other aspects of the life of the period¹; and finally examine the cultural influences on its art by comparing these with those obtaining in Northern, Western and Southern India and even the contemporary Roman art. For Indo-Greek influence is visible in some sculptures found at Nāgārjunakonda, whereas there is ample evidence to show that there was a commercial contact at least between Greece, Rome and the eastern coast of South India.

This study accompanied by that of the inscriptions of the various dynasties of the region, as pointed above, will also enable us to trace the dynastic and regional distribution of the monuments in the Āndhradeśa. At present we have only a scanty knowledge of the dynasties that ruled there.

The above remarks hold good in the case of the monuments of the subsequent period also. As yet we know nothing of the

¹ Recently Mr. A. V. Naik, a student of my Department, has studied in great detail certain aspects of the Nāgārjunakonda Sculptures. It is published in the Institute's *Bulletin*, Vol. II, pp. 50-118.

monuments of the E. Calukyas who ruled in this part from the 7th century onwards.

The monuments immediately to the south of the Āndhradeśa, viz. those found in the Nellore District, engage our attention next. Since it is these which form the subject of my detailed study, I omit them from this survey.

Proceeding southwards we meet with the monuments of the Pallavas in the Madras Presidency, properly the Tondamandala of the Sangam classics and of later inscriptions. Several aspects of these have been minutely studied by Rea, Longhurst, Jouveau Dubreuil, Vogel and recently by Dr. Miss. Minakshi of Madras. What we have now to see is whether the regional distribution of the Pallava monuments could be extended and whether elements of their architecture, sculpture, cults and iconography could be traced back to their sources. Certain aspects of the later monuments of the further south, at Tanjore and Madura for instance, which are the works of the Colas¹ and the Nāyakas of Madura, have also been studied by Jouveau Dubreuil, but others, which I have already mentioned before, still await a detailed study.

In order to do this I took up the study of the monuments at Bhairavakonda, situated to the north of the known Pallava monuments, the result of which I will discuss presently.

Bhairavakonda is 28 miles N. W. of Udayagiri in the Nellore District of the Madras Presidency. There, in the upper end of a ravine, a number of temples are carved, whereas in a stone-built temple, over a pillar, is carved a rude image of Bhairava. Hence the entire hill is now called Bhairavakonda, or 'the hill of Bhairava.'

The rock-cut temples which are situated at the south end of the sloping rock facing the little Bhairava temple form the subject of today's study.

There are in all 8 such temples. It appears that some of them were excavated first, others afterwards. Longhurst, who discovered them in about 1916, thought these temples were excavated by the early Pallavas, who passed through this region

¹ Detailed study of the development of the Cola temples from those of the Pallavas requires to be attempted. In this, much help can be derived from the work done by the Archaeological Department of the Pudukotta State.

when they were driven out of the Āndhradeśa by the Cālukyas in the early years of the 7th century.

All the temples are of Śiva, who was worshipped there in the form of a liṅga. Temples Nos. I to IV have a small square shrine, with an open terrace in front, which must have been enclosed with a thached roof, supported on wooden pillars.

The shrine and the terrace are devoid of any architectural ornament, excepting 'two narrow flat bands all along the architecture spanning the facade and two vertical bands encasing the doorkeepers in niches.'

New features appear in temples Nos. V, VII, VIII. In the first place they all have a rock-cut porch with pillars in front, besides the square shrine.

In addition to this, the facade of the porch is ornamented with Caitya windows, animals, dwarfs *et cetera*.

All the temples have on either side of the doorway a doorkeeper, whereas all the temples, excepting No 3, have got the figure of a Nandi, facing the shrine, in the terrace or the porch.

Barring temple No. 2, figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu beside the doorkeeper on either side, whereas figures of Śiva and Gaṇeśa are carved on each of the terraces in all the temples, and similarly a liṅga of Śiva in temple No. I, while on the back wall of the shrine immediately the liṅga in Temple 4 is cut out an image of Śiva with three faces.

These facts about the temples at Bhairavakonda I have first analysed in detail under four heads :—

1 Architecture.

2 Sculpture of human and animal forms, and architectural designs.

3 Cult.

4 Iconography.

Secondly, I have studied them critically and compared them with those available in contemporary monuments, particularly of South India.

Of this study I propose to read out the results of my inquiry on two points only, viz. cult and iconography, for these, I think, will interest you.

With regard to the cult it may be noted that the cult-image is invariably a liṅga. In majority of cases it is made of black

basalt, detachable and not carved out in the granite rock as the *yōnīpīṭha* is. Why should this be so and why should the *līṅga* be made of another kind of stone, requires to be investigated. It may have some significance, for the stone is not available there. It has to be brought from a great distance.

A similar practice we noticed at Vijayanagara. There, though the temples are constructed of granite, the cult-images were usually of a dark green chlorite stone.

Excluding the first temple (which faces the north, because the rock is so situated), the orientation of all the temples is towards the east.

This result is important because in my studies of the temples in Gujarat, Deccan and Karnataka, I found that the temples of Śiva as a rule, face the east or west only. When temples of other regions will be studied in this way, we shall arrive at a very interesting and illuminating conclusion.

As regards the position of deities a figure of Gaṇeśa is found sculptured on the south side of the terrace wall, and that of Śiva on the north.

But unlike in later temples, Gaṇeśa is not to be found on the door-lintel of the shrine chamber. This fact points to some important conclusions. First, that Gaṇeśa was not, then, regarded as a Vighneśa, or Maṅgalamūrti to be placed in the most important position in a temple next to the shrine. Nay, he did not form the integral part of a temple, either of Śiva or of Viṣṇu, for on examining his figures it appeared to Longhurst that in some cases the figure was a later addition.

This is also the case in a fifth century temple of the Gupta period found at Bhumara in Central India.

When and how Gaṇeśa came to acquire the position he holds now, viz. of a Maṅgalamūrti, that he is to be worshipped on every new occasion should be investigated through archaeology and literature.

The position of Śiva in these temples needs a careful consideration. Apart from his *līṅga*, which forms the cult-image everywhere, his images are found :—

Firstly, in a niche, on the north side of the terrace wall;

secondly, behind the *līṅga* on the backwall of the shrine in temple No. IV.¹

Now we may ask as to why Śiva figures are carved in these positions in these temples. Those in the outer hall may be decorative figures, but not the one on the back wall of the shrine, where he is represented with 3 faces. Neither in contemporary temples from other parts of India, nor in the later temples also do we find a Śiva figure in this position, excepting in some Pallava temples, where we notice not exactly this figure but a Somaskanda image, that is, Śiva and Pārvatī with the child Skanda between them.

Is the practice which is peculiar to Pallava and later South Indian temples alone, arisen out of the early practice of carving Ekamukha or Caturmukha *līṅga* which we notice in the Gupta temples in Central India or is it due to a special type of Śaivism prevalent in South India at an early period? A study of early Tamil classics might reveal the reasons for this feature of Bhairavakonda and Pallava temples.

The position of the figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu in the temple is also interesting. Excepting temples No. II² and III a figure of Brahmā is found on the proper right or the south side of the shrine containing the *līṅga* and Viṣṇu on the north side.

This shows that in early Śiva temples, these deities were represented, but they were not intrinsic to a Śiva temple. For in temples Nos. II and III their figures have been omitted, owing to lack of space.

It may be also worth while inquiring, why Brahmā's figure should always be on the south and Viṣṇu's on the north side of the shrine.

Have the texts on temples anything to say on this point?

For the study of iconography we get in the Śaiva pantheon figures of

Śiva
Nandī
Gaṇeśa
Durgā

¹ *MAI*, 17, p. 34.

² *Ibid.* 17, p. 33.

In the Vaiṣṇava of Viṣṇu alone and in the Brāhmā of Brāhmā only.

Śiva is found represented in three ways :—

first in the form of a *liṅga*,

secondly, with three faces behind the *liṅga* in temple No. 4,

thirdly in *padmāsana*, with four arms in a niche on the north side of the terrace wall.

Unfortunately the photos of figures 2 and 3 are not separately published, so it is not possible to study them in detail. For the present it may be remarked tentatively, from the evidence available, that the purely Śiva pantheon was either not fully represented or was developing in this part of South India.

Much can not be said either on Vaiṣṇava or on Brāhma iconography with a single figure from each pantheon. Brāhmā and Viṣṇu in all the 6 or 7 cases are shown standing, and since the weapons in their hands do not show flames as do the later cases from the known Pallava temples, it appears that these figures are early.

To sum up our evidence on the different aspects selected for study :—

With regard to the architecture of a Śiva temple we learn that the temple was square or rectangular in form, decorated with some motives which are found in the earlier Buddhist architecture of the Āndhradeśa, whereas some motives, the doorkeeper, for instance, were new.

In sculpture the figures of doorkeepers and squatting lions show certain features which require further examination and study. As to the Śiva cult we noticed that its essentials were:—

- 1 a *liṅga* on a *yōnīpīṭha* in the shrine chamber ;
- 2 a *Nandī* facing it in the porch or outer hall ;
- 3 doorkeepers with peculiar head-dresses.

Other features e. g. a *pradakṣiṇā-mārga*, were still to come ; whereas figures of Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Brāhmā and Viṣṇu were represented if space permitted, but they were of secondary importance.

As to iconography it seems to be in an undeveloped stage.

When we compare this evidence as to Śiva cave temples at Bhairavakonda in the Nellore District with similar temples of the Pallavas further south and those of the Cālukyas at Badāmi, we find that the Bhairavakonda temples seem to be the fore-

runners of the Pallava temples and may be the work of the early Pallavas; secondly, the Bhairavakonda temples are not only primitive but in some ways different from the Śiva cave temple at Badāmi, where the Śaiva pantheon, for instance, is not only found in a developed but a highly conventionalized stage, postulating a long tradition and experience in rock-carving.

What is the cause underlying this regional difference? Is it due to the fact that the Bhakti-cult in Śaivism developed late in the eastern part of S. India than in the Western? And finally from where did the Pallava artists draw their inspiration for the Śaiva pantheon as found at Māhābalipuram and Conjeeveram, for instance? From the Cālukya contact or was it an independent development encouraged by the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints of the Tondamandalam?

My studies are still in their infancy to answer these questions, which have not been raised so far. But they are the direct results of the regional study I propose.

Is it not opportune then, I ask, that with political federation on the threshold, we should also build up a cultural federation by a systematic regional study of various subjects—Linguistics and Archaeology, for instance, provision for which is now made, at long last, on this side of Western India, and lines for the study of which are briefly indicated in this series of Extension Lectures for which we must all thank the enthusiastic Secretary of the Bhandarkar Institute?

What we now want is seekers after truth in stones and words.

PAGET'S GESTURE-THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF HUMAN SPEECH*

BY

C. R. SANKARAN

I should first thank the Secretary of this Institute for extending to me a very kind invitation to speak to you to night. May this talk be an humble meed of tribute to the memory of the great scholar whose magnificent portrait presides over this hall !

Right from the very beginning when men began to seriously reflect upon languages there has been preoccupation with the origins. No doubt *Plato* concerned himself primarily with questions of linguistic validity in the *Cratylus*. But he found it difficult to separate these questions from those of origin. Even in the latter part of the 18th century when linguistics first began to be studied as a science in Europe down to our own time, they are not separated.

Language was conceived as God-given on account of what appeared to be its marvellous perfection, by the "pre-scientific speculators." HUMBOLDT conceived language to have "sprung out of the depth of humanity in such a fashion that it forbids being conceived as the mere product or creation of peoples. It involves an independence or self-sufficiency, obvious although not explainable ultimately, and is, when viewed from this aspect, not a creation of our activity but an involuntary emanation of the spirit (GEIST), not the work of nations but a gift of inmost fate or destiny." ¹

HERDER in his *Abhandlung uber den Ursprung der Sprache* developed the notion of the original form of language being poetic. This followed as a natural consequence of the emphasis laid upon *Geist* and creativity. HERDER'S conception of the *Ursprache* is met with in CROCE and VOSSLER.

* Extension Lecture delivered at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, on 22nd August 1940.

¹ Quoted by W. M. URBAN in his *Language and Reality*. George Allen and Unwin, 1939 pp. 72-73.

In the domain of the linguistic science, a remarkable thing happened when there was a bold leap from HUMBOLDT and HEGEL to DARWIN. Now language came to be looked upon as a part of nature. The doctrine of primitive roots came into being as a natural corollary to the conception that there should have been an evolution from simple uncomplicated elements to complex and articulated forms,¹ by the operation of purely natural laws. To W. D. WHITNEY the problem of the linguistic science then was one of "immediately given self-significant and self-authenticating sounds."²

At this point, interjectional and onomatopoeic theories arose. Against the first theory, complete absence of any tangible evidence, historical or other is pointed out. Even though words like the English *laugh* suggest their origin as imitations of natural sounds, there is not much ground to formulate an onomatopoeic hypothesis for a little more than a very negligible portion of the elements of speech. SAPIR in his *Language* (p. 6) draws our attention to the significant absence of imitative words in the languages of the Alaskan tribes of the Mackenzie River, the most primitive peoples of aboriginal America.³

The central parts of language and its complex structure remain unexplained even by a harmonious combination of these theories. This fact is increasingly recognised today by the great exponents of the linguistic science. In the first place, we have to remember that these theories are based on the most erroneous assumptions "that single words are the units of communication and that they develop in isolation." The present conception of the primacy of GESTALTEN in the domain of psychology also, demands us to assume on the contrary that larger unities such as sentences should have come first. Yet another implicit assumption behind the interjectional and onomatopoeic theories is that prior to the creation of language man was, so to speak, mute and inexpressive. There appears to be not much warrant for this assumption either. It is easy to see how a reconsi-

¹ The absurdity in this assumption is evident to any modern student, cf. Franz BOAS, *The mind of Primitive Man*, p. 172.

² Quoted by W. M. URBAN, *ibid.* p. 73,

³ Cf. also W. M. URBAN, *ibid.* p. 74,

deration of these assumptions and the utter inadequacy of the theories built upon these assumptions might lead to the gesture-theory of the origin of language.

At one time there was a marked tendency to transfer this interesting problem of origins from the linguistic to the non-linguistic field, among students of linguistics and allied disciplines.

WUNDT developed an interesting theory in his *Völkerpsychologie*. He posited a primitive gesture-language constituted by expressive movements of the body. WUNDT conceived articulate speech as a modification of this primitive gesture language. He distinguishes the imitative from the indicative forms of gesture. From the earliest stages of human development, man uses arms and hands to grasp and control things. In nearly related animals also, we have analogous activities which differ only in grade but not in nature. It appears easy at first sight to derive the first forms of pantomime movement from these primitive functions. WUNDT shows how in all the stages of the life of the child, this development takes place from the simplest to the most developed, the grasping movements passing into involuntary pointing movements and the stable establishment of the latter finally.¹ WUNDT thus includes language in the field of expressive movements and lays deserved emphasis on the importance of gesture in the development of the indicative and representative functions of primitive sounds. His theory no doubt attempts to make the "meaning" or *Deutung* function in language—a function which though is derived from biological functions of grasping and manipulating is inseparably united with the sound movements, emotive or imitative at the beginning—a little intelligible. Gestures doubtless subserve primarily functions of indication which the sounds themselves gradually take on and the gesture-theory as developed by WUNDT unlike the earlier theories is able to explain the origin of non-significant sounds in language and the fundamental parts of speech.

But it is sometimes pushed to an absurd extent. Professor de LAGUNA, for instance, maintains that all the three meaning

¹ Cf. WILHELM WUNDT, *Völkerpsychologie*. Vol. I, p. 129f. 3rd edition. Leipzig, 1911, cf. also W. M. URBAN, *op. cit.* pp. 76-77 also p. 143.

functions of language-emotive, indicative and representative or symbolic—are explicitly or implicitly present in animal cries. For instance, let us take the animal cries of the proclamatory type. The cry is indicative as it proclaims the presence of the object. In the warning cry, we have an expression of an emotional attitude. We can also postulate at least the potentiality of predication in the cry, since it proclaims something about the object or situation which it thus indicates.¹ All students of animal psychology are not agreed upon the question as to whether the range of different cries of the great apes (cries ordinarily used in the expression of emotional attitudes) are connected with particular objects or situations so as to constitute a real language. B. W. KÖHLER'S contention is that the indicative and representative functions are absent in their entirety in the phonetic expressions even of the higher apes. He observes that it may be taken as positively proved that the apes' gamut of phonetics is entirely 'subjective' and can only express emotions, never designate or describe objects. But they have so many phonetic elements that are also common to human languages that their lack of articulate speech can not be ascribed to secondary (glossolabial) limitations. Their gestures, too, of face and body, like their expressions in sounds, never designate or describe objects.² He speaks also of the enormous manifold of *Ausdrucksbewegungen* (expression-movements) through which the animals understand each other, but there can be no talk of any speech between them of any *Zeichen und Darstellungen* (indicative and representative) functions of specific sounds or movements.³ It is no doubt true that the emotive or expressive function is definitely present in animals. But the element of indication present seems to be of the vaguest sort, referring to the vaguest situations. Certainly not the faintest trace of the element of representation or indication in any significant sense is to be sought in the communication of the animals. In this connection, it is interesting to note

¹ De LAGUNA, *Speech : Its Function and Development*, p. 28. See also W. M. URBAN, *op. cit.* p. 78.

² B. W. KÖHLER, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 317, also 'Zur Psychologie des Schimpansen' *Psych. Forsch.* Bd. I. Sections 27, 29.

³ See W. M. URBAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

that MEAD¹ supposes animal-gesture to be the basis of the language-symbol and attempts to demonstrate the biological function of the former. He believes that what are called-‘attitudes’-organisations of different parts of the nervous system which are instrumental in producing acts and therefore are capable of representing both what has taken place immediately and what is going to take place give distinctive character to genuinely social behaviour, when communicated. The act as a whole can exist in such an attitude, determining the later stages of the nervous system. This attitude can represent also alternative courses of action and responses to classes and kinds of objects, e. g. the characters we assign to ‘horse’ as idea or ‘concept.’ I shall not dwell on this here. I refer those of you who are interested to pursue MEAD’S arguments still further in his book-*Man Self and Society*, 1934.²

As in the communication of the animals there is not any true representation or indication, CASSIRER thinks that the animal speech “seems to be permanently held fast in a pre-linguistic stage”³. In SAPIR’S definition of language as “a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions,

¹ G. H. MEAD, *Man, self and society*. 1934, 11.

H. W. WRIGHT, The psychology of Social Culture. *The American Journal of psychology*. Vol. 52. 1939, pp. 211, 214 and 216.

² Cf. also my paper in the *Denison Ross commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1939, p. 361.

³ CASSIRER, *Die Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen*, Vol. I. chapter III, p. 127f.

“There is no single kind of animal, not even the highest ape, that has anything approximating to language. Exclamations it has in plenty, and imperatives and entreaties; but the amazing fact remains that it has no nouns. It is as totally lacking in names for trees and streams as it is in names for colour and distance. The defect is not in speech organs for many animals have a large range of vocal sounds. The only way to account for it is to suppose that the animals have no *ideas* of these things, or have them only in fugitive irrecoverable glimpses. If an animal as inventive as an ape could form the idea ‘tree’, it could easily find a symbol, and if it lacks the symbol that can only be because it lacks the idea.” (Vide Brand BLANSHARD. *The nature of Thought*, London. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1939. Vol. I, p.252). KÖHLER [*Mentality of Apes*, 305] says that the ape does not designate objects even by *gestures*,

desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols,"¹ we find the hiatus between animal expression and human speech most clearly emphasized. It is thought by SAPIR that in the complete displacement of the affective stimulus-born sounds by the pure meaningful sounds is to be traced the first step to human language.

It is of interest to note here that this definition of SAPIR while it lays positive stress on the voluntary creative character of symbol formation in language, undoubtedly expresses the tendency towards autonomy in linguistics in so far as it denies by implication the entire reductive point of view of the naturalistic approach. Truly this definition assumes a dualism between content and medium. Hence de LAGUNA proposes a purely behavioural and objective conception of speech.² No doubt to the orthodox linguisticians of even the modern times, as W. M. URBAN points out³ "*expression and communication are the sine qua non of language*", but should it by any means tie us down to a fixed speech notion? We may, indeed we must, accept CASSIRER'S principle of *primat des Sinnes*—"primacy of meaning". Indeed meaning is the *sine qua non* of linguistic fact. But does that really mean that we have to wholly abandon the positivistic or naturalistic approach to the fascinating problem of the human speech? I venture to submit an opinion that PAGET'S theory is sometimes unjustly criticised. A Reviewer of Sir RICHARD PA-

¹ E. SAPIR, *Language*, p. 4. Vide also M. M. URBAN, *loc. cit.* p. 71 and 80. cf. also the following, "A thorough going comparison of the speech-forms, say in some one language, with features of the non-linguistic world is impossible at the present state of our knowledge. Our system of responses, with its neat discrimination of objects, classes, positions movements, qualities, etc, results very largely upon from our use of language. We can not return to the animal's or the infant's state of speechless response." (L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic Aspects of Science* p. 30.) With the definition of E. SAPIR, compare also the latest definition of language by R. CARNAP—"A language is a system of activities or, rather, of habits, i. e. dispositions to certain activities, serving mainly for the purpose of communication and of coordination of activities among the members of a group." RUDOLF CARNAP, *Foundations of Logic and Mathematics. Foundations of the Unity of Science* Vol. I. No. 3. p. 3. *International Encyclopædia of unified Science*.

² de LAGUNA, *Speech : Its Function and Development*, pp. 9ff.

³ W. M. URBAN, *op. cit.* p. 71.

GET'S epoch-making work "*Human Speech: Some Observations, Experiments and Conclusions as to the Nature, Origin and purpose and Possible Improvement of Human Speech*"¹ writes as follows:— "We can afford to be tolerant of theories of remote origin, because they do not really matter. In the Book of Genesis, speech is wisely taken for granted. Adam just simply gave names to the animals. The author of Genesis was right and so were the founders of the *Société de Linguistique* when in 1866 they banned speculations on the origin of language or the creation of ideal or universal languages".² To say the least, such a frivolous dismissal of PAGET'S theory appears to me as an insult to all sound-scholarship and right criticism. Incidentally, I do not take Prof. S. M. Katre in the speech (he delivered here six months ago) to mean that all attempts to go into the Proto-Dravidian and still farther back will be utter failures. I think in his address here last year he has only laid just emphasis on the right attitude to be adopted by future linguisticians of India and only pointed out dangers of *mere* speculations without an adequate foundation of facts.³ It is in that spirit today I venture to place before you PAGET'S theory and its *implications* as I understand them. I may say here that I am perfectly confident that the " Science of Synonymies " (Prof. S. M. KATRE spoke of), of all the languages spoken in India will undoubtedly lead us to work out in great detail the far-reaching *implications* of PAGET'S important theory.

Coming back to where I left you, PAGET appears to me to have inaugurated what I choose to call for the sake of convenience a *neo-positivistic* or *naturalistic* theory of language. To make my meaning clearer to you, I should like to say that PAGET does not seem to be unaware of the real value of the *idealistic* approach to the problem of the origin of language—the *idealistic* approach which justifiably lays emphasis on " the primacy of meaning " for, PAGET himself says " when we talk, we are symbolizing

¹ London, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Company, 1930.

² Cf. *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, 1930.

³ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX. p. 289. 1940,

our *thoughts*¹ (or such of them as we intend for publication) by making a kind of sign language 'by ear.'"²

As ZIPF rightly observes, although "we select and arrange our words according to their meanings with little or no conscious reference to the relative frequency of occurrence of those words in the stream of speech, yet we find that words thus selected and arranged have a frequency-distribution of great orderliness."³ As meaning or meanings do not lend themselves to quantitative measurement, it is not possible to solve the question quantitatively as to the nature of meaning which leads automatically to the orderly frequency-distribution of words in the stream of speech. But the surest way to apprehend something of the nature and behaviour of meaning is the isolation of those factors which can be measured, viewing the stream of speech "as a succession or a continuum of communicative *gestures*,⁴ produced by the vocal organs occurring in arrangements that are essentially permutations,"⁵ never losing sight of the fact that "of all the acts of human behaviour the stream of speech alone seems to constitute a continuum which with the minimum of distortion can be isolated from the total background of behaviour and at the same time be labelled and studied statistically with a high degree of accuracy."⁶ Indeed, because meaning is not

¹ Italics mine.

² SIR RICHARD PAGET, *The Origin of Language*. *Psyche* Vol. VIII. No. I. 1927-28. p. 36.

It is indeed problematic whether anything that belongs to the world of thought is quite independent of language in general or any one language in particular (see *infra*). This leads us to the allied question "how much of our world is independent of any one language?.....The forms of any one language could scarcely serve as a frame of reference: We should need, instead, a non-linguistic scale by which to measure" cf. L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic aspects of Science*, pp. 30-31.

³ G. K. ZIPF, *The Psycho-Biology of Language*, p. 48.

⁴ Italics mine.

⁵ G. K. ZIPF, *The Psycho-Biology of Language*, p. 13.

⁶ ZIPF, *ibid.* p. 17.

H. Levy, (*The Universe of Science*. The Thinkers, Library No. 67 London, 1932, pages 212-213), points out that to the biologist Lancelot HOGBEN (*Nature of living Matter*) "the study of the sense organs involves far-reaching consequences to science, in that man acquires his knowledge of the
(continued on the next page)

reducible to quantitative treatment, in the formula $F A C M = K$ (constant) where F represents relative-frequency of the occurrence of words in the stream of speech, A represents the degree of intensity of the accent, C represents the degree of crystallization and M represents the degree of distinctness of meaning—in this formula $F A C M = K$ —quantitative values can probably never be substituted for the symbols of this formula.¹ In the summary picture presented by G. IPSEN² of the present situation of linguistic science, we find that it has come to the *phenomenological* stage (having emancipated from the earlier *physical*, *physiological*, and the *psychological* stages through which it has passed) the “new speech-notion” as inaugurated by SAPIR and others represents. This stage has inaugurated no doubt a new era in the history of linguistic science with the important postulate of its autonomy. Although linguistics has come to this stage, because of the difficulty, nay, the impossibility of reducing meaning to quantitative analysis, I suggest that PAGET’S approach to the very interesting problem of the origin of human speech deserves consideration at the hands of serious students of linguistics.

Here I might also point out the usual fallacy, in the popular view according to which no movement at all is supposed to remain at the final stage when a fairly grown up child suppresses all audible and even all visible movements of speech—the final stage preceded by the two stages of talking to one self loud and then learning to mumble or whisper. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD in

(continued from the previous page)

world through them. Thus the view of the universe constructed by the physical scientists is likely to be fundamentally altered by the further progress of Biology.” And if the study and progress of Biology have such a high value for science, since of all the acts of human behaviour the stream of speech alone constitutes a continuum that can be isolated from the total background of behaviour, I need hardly dwell on the supreme value of Dynamic Philology for science in general. I should like only to stress again that speech Dynamics possesses over the study of the Dynamics of any other type of behaviour, advantages which seem in many respects to be unique in the whole range of Biological and psychological phenomena.

¹ G. K. ZIPF, *The Psycho-Biology of Language*, p. 157.

² GUNTHER IPSEN, *Sprachphilosophie der Gegenwart*. 1930, cited by W. M. URBAN, *op. cit.* p. 62.

11 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

a recent work of his,¹ points out that by adopting this attitude, one abandons the basic assumptions of physics. What really happens is that certain internal movements replace the movements of speech which consists of a small number of contrasting units. This replacement occurs "at first presumably as mere reduction of the normal movements of speech, but capable, in the course of time, of any degree of substitution. This *inner speech* accounts for the main body of the vaguely bounded system of actions that in everyday parlance goes by the name of 'thinking'."

I need not dwell in this connection how according to RUSSELL² that all the supposed activities of thought other than images and sensations can be resolved away in the behaviourist manner. In fact, he comes to the distinct conclusion that there is probably nothing irreducibly mental at all.

There is undoubtedly the substitution of what may be called 'implicit' language-habits replacing the more 'explicit' ones. "Behind our closed lips, while we are reading or thinking, there are still movements of tongue or larynx that could be registered and measured if one only had instruments fine enough. *And these purely physical movements constitute our thinking.*"³ In the language of WATSON, "thinking is sub-vocal talking"⁴ and "thought is the action of language mechanisms."⁵ Indeed WATSON believes that a still further substitution is also possible. He says that thinking goes on "in *conditioned word substitutes* such as the shrug of the shoulders or other bodily responses, found in the eyelids, the muscles of the eye or even the retina (*Behaviourism*, 213, italics

¹ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic aspects of Science*. p. 17. Vol. I. No. 4. *Foundation of the Unity of Science. International encyclopædia of Unified Science*.

² See his *The Analysis of Mind*.

³ B. BLANSHARD, *The Nature of Thought*. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1939. p. 318 Vol. I.

⁴ *Behaviourism*, 194. See also my paper in the N. I. A. Vol. 1, 1939. p. 744.

⁵ *Psychology from the stand point of a Behaviourist*, 347, 1919. For a detailed criticism of the view that 'thought is the action of language mechanisms' see B. BLANSHARD, *The Nature of Thought*. Vol. 1, pp. 319ff.

in original), as well as in the finger movements of the deaf and dumb" (*British Journal of psychology*, Vol. II. 1920, p. 89). He maintains that even if the larynx, the principal organ of speech is removed altogether, "So long as the air can pass from the lungs to the pharynx and mouth, faint whispered speech is possible." ¹ Again even if this passage of air is cut off and an opening is made below the larynx in the trachea through which the patient is compelled to breathe, WATSON tells us that with the upper organs of speech, the teeth, tongue, and lips "such individuals can and do still make all of the movements necessary for articulate speech" ². Even in the extreme case of those patients in whom a paralysis of these organs too occurs as a consequence of a radical motor aphasia or in the case of an individual who sits in silent meditation (with no visible movements of the outward organs of speech) and the subject, as a thought occurs, can detect no sensations of vocal movement from within, the behaviourist insists that "the thought consists in *physical processes*³ which are as yet beyond detection⁴". Says WATSON, "The behaviourist's answer is that he can *at present* arrive at this conclusion only by making use of a logical inference. In those cases where the response to the stimulus is not immediate but where it finally occurs in some form of explicit verbal or manual behaviour, it is safe to say that something does go on, and that something is surely not different in essence from that which goes on when his behaviour is explicit" ⁵. In short WATSON contends that "any and every bodily response may become a word substitute." ⁶

I have spoken so much about the Behaviourists' standpoint that "thinking is merely talking with concealed musculature" (WATSON, *The Battle of Behaviourism*, 34-35) only because I wish to indicate a few different (but what in my opinion appears to be convergent) approaches to PAGET'S theory concerning the origin of human speech. About the theory proper itself, I shall be con-

¹ *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviourist*, 347.

² *Ibid.*

³ Italics mine.

⁴ BRAND BLANSHARD, *The Nature of Thought* Vol. I, p. 327.

⁵ *Psychology from the standpoint of a Behaviourist*, 347.

⁶ *Behaviourism*.

tent to say presently only a few words. Above everything I desire to tell you once again that it is worth while to examine PAGET'S theory purely from the point of view of the really much neglected Dravidian Linguistics (scholars pursuing this important branch of knowledge are unfortunately very few in our country) after making a detailed "chronological study of linguistic facts within each individually attested member of the family and then instituting the comparison of synchronic elements of cognate members"—in other words, after the rigorous application of what I choose to call *the neo-diachronic and-synchronic* (as opposed to the older conception of *diachronic* and *synchronic* linguistics of de SAUSSURE in his *cours de linguistique générale* 3rd edition Paris. pp. 114-24) *School of linguistics* inaugurated by BENVENISTE and KURYLOWICZ (in their works *origines de la formation des Nomen Indo-européennes* T. Paris. 1935, and *Etudes Indo-européennes* respectively) as Prof. S. M. KATRE has rightly pointed out in his address here six months ago.¹

No doubt, a period when there were communicative systems such as gestures or signals, quite independent of language or coordinate with it would certainly lie very far behind us and we can possibly never know or even tolerably guess about the conditions which might have prevailed in such a period for "in times that are accessible to us and under human conditions as we know them any system of gestures or signals that goes beyond vague beckoning appears simply as an out growth and substitutive reproduction of language."² But after the preliminary work (however tortuous it be) is done thoroughly as I have just now indicated, it behoves us as scientists to attempt to probe into the mysteries of the man's past and the interesting *implications* of PAGET'S theory seems to me an attractive tool for this purpose.

Now I shall briefly attempt to indicate the broad lines of PAGET'S theory of the origin of human speech. Man has led a separate existence on this planet for something like two million years. This can be taken as fairly well established. Naturally

¹ Vide *the Annals of the B. O. R. Institute*. Vol. XX. p. 277. 1940.

² L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic aspects of Science* p. 8.

Cf. also the following "one might perhaps devise an indefinitely extensible system of actions such as gestures or graphic-markings but our saturation in language would from the very outset force us to assign verbal substitutes to the forms of such a system" *ibid* p. 40.

therefore the beginnings of human speech are almost unimaginably far distant. It is almost a dictum with anthropologists—and they are right in swearing by that—that there is really nothing so old in human history which is not found in some form or other and in some modification or other, however distorted, as to entirely present an altogether new appearance to the uninitiated observer in modern times, and that there is nothing so new in modern times which did not exist in some form or other in the remotest past of human history. Perhaps, this is the full meaning of Kālidāsa's immortal line *Vikṛtir jīvitam ucyate budhaiḥ*.

It is therefore quite possible to form some idea of how human speech originated, by its study even as we have it today. PAGET points out how a rather surprising conclusion can be arrived at through interesting experiments as to the actual nature of the various speech sounds and by comparing them with the "postures" or "gestures" of the tongue, lips, and other vocal organs.

When we listen to a speech, there is an unconscious process going on within us of decoding the sounds of speech back into the sign language of tongue and lips which produced them. We only look for indications of the movements—postures or gestures the speaker is making with his organs for articulation—of his lips, tongue, soft palate (which opens and closes the passage to his nose) and the other movable parts of his throat.

We start with the assumption that the man in the most primitive times could only express his emotions by cries and when further explanations were needed, he easily resorted to gestures of his face and limbs. He had little time to use hands whenever he wanted to explain anything as times rolled on, since he should have got himself absorbed in the first creative activities such as chipping flints or knives, axes and arrows, pursuing the chase making bone needles and piercing shells for the use and ornaments of his lady-friends. Then it was that he should have tended to make his sign language first with his face and then only with his mouth and throat.

Here he must have been on the threshold of a great discovery. The original emotional cry could act as a "carrier wave" a sort of *Śruti* 'drone'. On the background of this "laryngeal hum"¹

¹ See RICHARD PAGET, *Human speech*, pp. 47-48.

the gestures of the speech organs—mouth and throat—could be interpreted by the listeners far away even in the dark. In short, it should have dawned on the primitive man at this stage that he could produce “his sign language *entirely* with his tongue, lips and throat.”¹ PAGET tells us how a series of experiments led him to the conclusion that the form and consequent pitch of the Vocal resonators remain substantially constant except for minor adjustments, irrespective of changes in the larynx note. It is, therefore, deducible that different harmonics of the “successive” larynx notes will be emphasised by the action of the resonators (with the variation in the larynx note) while the vowel posture is kept constant. The notes will no doubt come to possess different tone colour. A study by phonographic or oscillographic methods will, however, reveal the difference in the wave form of the notes in the case of the same vowel sung successively on different laryngeal notes. Our common experience is “that we instinctively recognise that they are the same vowel merely sung on a different note, not different sounds such as their wave forms show them to be.” It is merely due to the fact “that we unconsciously recognize the tongue and lip posture by their acoustic effects, and are primarily interested in the postures rather than in the wave form or tone colour which they produce.”²

The primitive man must have first imitated with his tongue and other vocal organs his own gestures he had made previously with his hands and face together. For instance, he would represent originally the idea of “little” with the gestures of the hands. The speech gestures which almost have one to one correspondence with the original gestures of the hands in this matter, are making a small mouth, bringing his tongue forward near his lips and partly closing his lips as to make a small cavity. Similarly the speech gesture corresponding to the hand gesture for “big” is making a big mouth, with large opening of the jaws and the tongue far back. Add to these speech gestures the hum produced by the vocal cords. The hum acts as a “carrier wave”. We get then *ee-ee* or *ii-ii* according to the extent to which we close our lips for “little” and *aw-aw* or *oh-oh* for “big”.³ PAGET cites

¹ PAGET, *Psyche*. Vol. VIII. p. 36.

PAGET, *Human speech*, p. 98.

² PAGET, *Human speech*, pp. 139 and 144.

the authority of Dr. NEVILLE WHYMANT that in certain early forms of Polynesian, Japanese and Chinese the word for "little" is *i-i* (pronounced *ee-ee*) and for "big" is *O-ho*.¹ PAGET does not mean to tell us "that these two words really represent the first human efforts at mouth pantomime as a means of expressing human thought." He only points out that it is perfectly natural to hearing man to make symbolic or pantomimic gestures with the human throat and mouth in all ages. In support of his contention, he cites the instance of a boy who upto his fourth year did not learn to speak his mother tongue (English) but used a language all his own. He called "little" by "*ee-ee*" and "big" by "*oh-oh*". Probably in imitation of the barking of a dog, he called a dog "*ba*" and he called a big dog "*oh-oh ba*" and a little dog "*ee-ee ba*" (PAGET, *op. cit.*). Now take two common English words *anger* and *anguish*. They undoubtedly come from the proto-Indo-European root* *agh* or **angh*, meaning to choke or strangle.² You can easily realise that a choking or strangling is made by the back of the tongue against the back of the throat in their utterance. This is the speech gesture involved in the production of the sound complex* *agh* or **angh*.

Take again modern English "apt" or "adapt" derived from the Pro-ethnic IE **ap* meaning seize.³ Is there not a sort of snapping with the lips and jaw, in the production of this sound complex?

PAGET (*op. cit.*, p. 140) shows that the speech-gesture involved in the utterance of the proto-polynesian and archaic Japanese *ada* (which means reach up') is the tongue reaching up to touch the palate. With a slight change in this speech-gesture, we have the cacuminal (cerebral) displacing the dental phone-me and the result is the Tamil word *adai* 'to reach, arrive at, to get, obtain' and Kannada *ade* (Vide *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, Vol. I. Part. I, p. 54).

Again the speech-gestures involved in the utterance of the Proto-Polynesian and archaic Japanese *tura* meaning 'to feel' is

¹ PAGET, *Psyche*, VIII. p. 38.

² PAGET, *Human Speech*, p. 149. WALDE POKORNY; VWIS, I Band 1930. p. 40. SKEAT, *Etymological Dictionary of the Eng., lang.*, 1884 2nd ed. p. 24.

³ WALDE POKORNY, VWIS Vol. I. p. 47. SKEAT, *op. cit.* pp. 31 and 8.

feeling behind the lower teeth and up behind the front teeth. In Kannada we have *tōru*¹ (e. g. *Nanage tōrutade* which literally means 'it appears to me'. The word *tōru* may be translated into 'feel' here for the above sentence would be more idiomatically rendered into the English sentence ('I feel so'). We have also in Tamil *Toṭu* 'feel by the touch' (*Kuraḷ*, 1159). *Toṭu* in Tamil means also 'to dig'. Here is further parallelism to the Japanese *tura* we have noticed, which means also 'stroke'. This word *toṭu* in Tamil may perhaps go back to the Proto-Dravidian in view of the fact that we have in old Kannada too *toḍu* (*Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 2087).

Compare also Tamil *tōnru-tal* (verb intransitive). Kannada *tōr*, Malayalam *tōnnuka* 'to be visible, to come to mind, to appear, seem' (*Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, Vol. IV. Pt. II. 1930. p. 2119).

Now take the Melanasian word *O'fa* 'father' and the Malayalam *oppā* 'elder brother' or 'elder sister' [I seek to establish an equation between these two words. Vide *Bull. D. C. R. I.* Vol. I, 1940. p. 393 f. n. 19 and also p. 416. On the phenomenon of name-transference in Malayalam *oppā*, see my notes to be published shortly in the *Bull. D. C. R. I.* SCHMIDT has attempted to connect the Austro-Asiatic family with Austronesian-consisting of Melanesian, Polynesian, Micronesian and Indonesian. (BEFEO, VII, pp. 213-263. VIII, pp. 1-35. See also RIVET, BSL, 1926 (83), pp. 141-168.) SCHMIDT also tried to connect this family with Australian, Papuan, and Tasmanian. PRZYLU-SKI, BSL 1926 (83). pp. 228-229 raises the problem of relation between *Sumerian* and *Austro-Asiatic*. RIVET, *Sumérien et océanien* Paris 1929, also followed suit. See also P.C. BAGCHI, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. pp. IX-X and 147-148]. These two words clearly belong to the *mama*-type of which MALINOWSKI speaks in his *Supplement I* to OGDEN and RICHARDS *The Meaning of Meaning* pp. 319-320. (See also my paper, *Bull. D. C. R. I.* Vol. I. pp. 436-437). These words appear with an emotional significance just at the stage when articulate speech begins in infants. To this type, belongs Urdu 'Abbā (Nom. Acc. Gen.)

¹ I am indebted to my student G. S. Gai for suggesting to me some of these Dravidian instances.

'father', Arabic 'Abū (Nominative). I state on the authority of Prof. Irawati KARVÉ that ābā, abā, āpā are the words used for 'father' in the Marāṭha country (*Bull. D. C. R. I. Vol. I. 1940, p. 331*). We have in Muṇḍā āpa, āpā, ābā and appū (See my paper, *Bull. D. C. R. I. Vol. I. p. 393*) and in Muṇḍūri āpa, abbā and in urāo abbā Cf. HAHN, *Kurukh Grammar*, Calcutta, 1900. p. 98).

Clearly along with these, Telugu Nānna (Nāyana) meaning 'father' (from Na+anna, Na being a form of the pronominal Prefix Nā) also belongs to this mama-type of words (Cf. G. J. SOMAYAJI, *JORM* XII. 1938. p. 252). These mama-type of words can be clearly seen to go a long way to confirm PAGET'S gesture-theory of the origin of human speech.

Again Proto IE *Kar or *Kal meaning " to move, speed, run " is probably the antecedent of our English word " car. " ¹ The same sound complex *kaṛ or *kal possibly functioned as another root in pro-ethnic IE meaning to curve or to roll and probably served as the antecedent of the modern English " circus ", " circle " etc.; produced by a rapid flick of the tongue, it probably denoted movement of some sort and R with a certain amount of bending back of the tongue, denoted binding, or enclosing. Here we have to remember that R and L are caused by very similar tongue gesture. Elsewhere² I am discussing PAGET'S theory that out of the first 100 roots listed by SKEAT in his *Etymological Dictionary of the English language*, 77 were clearly pantomimic, while among the remaining 23, 12 betray gestures of articulation suggestive of a pantomimic origin (although not directly pantomimic), leaving only 11 roots which showed no evidence of pantomimic origin ³ I therefore repeat here what I have said elsewhere ⁴ that PAGET'S theory stands purely on a statistical basis. This is in short PAGET'S gesture theory of the origin of human speech the theory which states that the " call " made

¹ SKEAT, *op. cit.* p. 93.

cf. also PROTO-IE * g^hel 'drehen' 'to roll'

WALDE-POKORNY, *VWIS*. Bd. 1, pp. 514-516.

PAGET, *Human Speech*, p. 149.

² See *Bulletin of the D. C. R. I. Vol. I, 1940, p. 414.*

³ PAGET, *Human, Speech*. p. 153.

⁴ See *Bulletin D. C. R. I. Vol. I. 1940. op. cit.*

by the vibration of the vocal chords inside man's Adam's apple converted the appropriate symbolic gestures performed by the tongue and lips, into the spoken words.¹

Time forbids me to enter into some of the highly complicated details of this fascinating theory. I have already put in a plea that this theory should not be frivolously dismissed as an idle speculation. Linguisticians ought not to shirk it on the ground that the theory may perhaps ultimately take us even to some of the basic assumptions of acoustics—an interesting branch of physics. Perhaps the expressive function² of phonemes—the irreducible signals or unit sounds³ of all spoken languages—may be studied in an entirely new light through PAGET'S theory and with the growth of Experimental Phonetics. But this is not the occasion to enter into such discussions however tempting they be.⁴ I only eagerly look for the day when a band of scholars devoted to Indian linguistics study all the far reaching *implications* of PAGET'S theory after the solid foundations of Indian linguistics have been well laid out as I have pointed out to you a few minutes back.

It only remains for me now to thank you for the very patient listening you have given me tonight. I thank once again the energetic Secretary of this Institute for giving me an opportunity to place before you an interesting theory which deserves to be well worked out by students of linguistic science especially when we remember that linguistics is not merely a fundamental

¹ PAGET, *Psyche*. Vol. VIII. p. 39.

² On this question, see A. W. De GROOT *Mededeelingen der koninglijke Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Afdeling letterkunde*. Deel. 65, Serie A No. 2. 1928, pp. 54-55.

³ L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic aspects of Science*. pp. 21.

⁴ An interesting question is the reduction of even the so called qualitative ablaut in term of quantitative measures by attempting to go deep into the ultimate psychological and physiological causes as C. M. LOTSPEICH has done. Cf. my paper, *Theories of Ablaut*. *J. O. R. M.* Volume XII, 1938. p. 283 f.n. 2 Another equally interesting question is the postulation of different laryngeal sounds in very distant prehistoric phases of IE. (See my paper, *JORM*, XII. 1938. p. 280 f. n. 3, XIII. pt. IV, p. 312, XIII. pt. II. pp. 94ff.). Possibly PAGET'S theory perfected by patient investigations of scholars devoted to the study of historic phases of wholly unconnected languages, may ultimately throw a flood of light on this moot question also by leading us into interesting suggestions,

science like logic or mathematics, but is *the fundamental science* for mathematics which is a verbal activity and logic which is a study of verbal activities necessarily presuppose Linguistics.¹ In the language of the great physicist N. BOHR "in the last analysis we are compelled to express our thoughts in a word-painting which we use in unanalysed fashion."²

¹ L. BLOOMFIELD *Linguistic Aspects of science* p. 56.

² BOHR, *Atomic theory and the Description of Nature* 1934. pp. 16 and 94 (quoted also by W. M. URBAN in his *Language and Reality* p. 508).

Cf. also the following :— "An act of speech is a happening in the world and, as such, an object of science; the branch of science which studies it is linguistics. Scientists, however, are speakers and may agree to utter speech in certain ways; thanks to the simplicity of phonetic structure, they are able quite accurately and uniformly to adhere to these agreements. Accordingly, they treat their own utterances not as an object of science but as a part of scientific procedure".

L. BLOOMFIELD, *Linguistic aspects of Science*. p. 45.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORKS OF MAHĪDHARA,
THE AUTHOR OF THE VEDADĪPA AND MANTRA-
MAHODADHI—BETWEEN A. D. 1530 AND 1610.

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Aufrecht¹ records several works of Mahīdhara "Son of Rāmabhakta, grandson of Ratnākara, pupil of Ratneśvara, a son of Keśava" who "lived at Benares." These works include works of Mahīdhara composed in A. D. 1589 (*Mantramahodadhi*) and in A. D. 1597 (*Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatāprakāśa*). Besides these works Aufrecht records under महीधर the works *Rudrajapabhāṣya*, and *Vedadīpa*² on *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*. Evidently Aufrecht's entry presumes the identity of the author of the मन्त्रमहोदधि (A. D. 1589) and the author of the वेददीप, both authors having the same name Mahīdhara. Dr. Lakshman Sarup³ assigned the author of the *Veda-dīpa* to the 12th century on the basis of an inscription⁴ dated

¹ CCI. 444--Works :— (1) अद्भुतविवेक, (2) ईशावास्योपनिषद्भाष्य, (3) एकाक्षर कोश, (4) कात्यायनगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य, (5) कात्यायनश्रुत्यसूत्रभाष्य, (6) नृसिंहपटल, (7) पुरुष-सूक्तटीका, (8) मन्त्रमहोदधि and its commentary नौका written in 1589, (9) मानुकाक्षरनिघण्टु or मानुकाक्षरनिघण्टु, (10) योगवासिष्ठसाराविद्युत्ति, (11) रामगीताटीका, (12) रुद्रजपभाष्य (13) विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलताप्रकाश, written in 1597, (14) वेददीप on वाजसनेयीसंहिता, (15) षडङ्गरुद्रभाष्य, (16) सारस्वतप्रक्रियाटीका, (17) सौत्रामणिविनियोगसूत्रार्थ.

² A Ms of *Vedadīpa* at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 41 of 1887-91) is dated Friday, 28th October 1614. Its colophon on folio 37 reads :—

“संवत् १६७१ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि षष्ठी भृगुवासरे वाल्मीकज्ञाति आचार्य पद्माकरेण लिखितं जयदेवपठनार्थं”

Poleman (*Indic Mss. in U. S. A.*, 1938, p. 6) records two Mss. of the *Veda-dīpa* in America, one of which is dated Śaka 1715=1793 A. D. Other Mss. of Mahīdhara's works recorded by Poleman are :—

बृहज्जातकविवरण—Nos. 5069-70 (No. 5069 is dated A. D. 1800).

मन्त्रमहोदधि—No. 4381.

रामगीताव्याख्या—Nos. 1183-84 (No. 1183 is dated A. D. 1678 ; No. 1184 is dated A. D. 1677).

³ Vide his paper on “*Uvāṭa and Mahīdhara*.” (Pp. 10-12 of Summaries of Papers—5th A. I. O. Conf. Lahore, 1928).

⁴ *Ind. Anti.*, XVIII, 1889, pp. 129-134.

1175 A. D. in which two villages have been given ¹ by Jayacandradeva of Kanoja to one Hrṣikeśa Śarman who is described as the grandson of “महापाण्डित महीधर” (पौत्राय). Two years ago I had an occasion to read Dr. Sarup's remarks about an early date for Mahīdhara viz. the beginning of the 12th century. His remarks in connection with the identity of the two *Mahīdharas* failed ² to convince me in the absence of any other corroborative evidence except the similarity of names. I had, therefore, made some study of the available works of Mahīdhara with a view to see if Dr. Sarup's date for Mahīdhara is correct or otherwise. Recently, however, Mr. K. M. K. Sarma of the Adyar Library, published a paper ³ on the “*Rudrabhāṣya* and date of *Mahīdhara* and *Veṅkaṭanātha*.” In this paper Mr. Sarma makes the following remarks about Mahīdhara's date as given by Dr. Sarup:—

“On the basis of an inscription which mentions a Mahīdhara Prof. Sarup assigns our author to the *beginning of the 12th century* (*Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta*, pp. 73–74). This date cannot be accepted for this Mahīdhara whose *Mantramahodadhi* bears at the end the chronogram अब्दे विक्रमतो जाते वेदबाणनृपैर्मिते (1654 = A. D. 1597). The invocation to Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha at the beginning of both the *Mantramahodadhi* ⁴ and the *Vedaḍīpa* is proof of the identity of the author,”

¹ This copperplate grant was discovered 60 miles north-east of Benares. It is dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1232 = A. D. 1175.

² Aufrecht's identity of the authors of the *Vedaḍīpa* and the *Mantramahodadhi* is also repeated by Keith and Winternitz (*Cata. of Bodleian Mss.* 1905) p. 36—“Mahīdhara wrote in A. D. 1598 the *Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatāprakāśa* (Weber, *Cata.* I, 158) and the *Mantramahodadhi* in A. D. 1589 (*Bodl. Cata.* p. 99) or 1597, Bendall *British Mss. Cata.* p. 45, n. 2”

³ *Adyar Library Bulletin*, December, 1940—Mahīdhara mentions सायण माधव and शंकर in his *Rudrabhāṣya* (“सायण, माधव शंकरप्रभृतिभिः”) औबट माधवीयम् in the *वेददीप*. As Mr. Sarma has pointed out महीधर is later than सायण (14th century).

⁴ Ms of the *Mantramahodadhi* (No. 653 of Viś. I at the B. O. R. Institute bears:—

“प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं महागणपतिं गुरुम् ।
तंत्राण्यनेकान्यालोक्य वक्ष्ये मन्त्रमहोदधिम् ॥

(continued on the next page)

In the B. O. R. Institute Mss. of the *Mantramahodadhi* the date of composition is given as चाणवेदवृषैर्मिते = A. D. 1589 (Sam. 1645).¹ I shall now consider the verses of invocation in the other works of Mahidhara :—

(I) The कात्यायनशुल्बसूत्रभाष्य² (B. O. R. Institute Ms. No. 653 of Viś. I contains a reference to Nṛsiṃha as will be seen from the verse at the commencement which reads—

(continued from the previous page)

The *Vedadīpa* begins:—

“ प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं
भाष्यं विलोक्यौवटमाधवीयम् ।
यजुर्मनूनां विलिखानि चार्थं
परोपकाराय निजेक्षणाय ॥ ’

[See शुक्लयजुर्वेदसंहिता (वाजसनेयी माध्यादिन) with commentaries by उवट and महीधर—N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912].

The objective identity of the 1st line of the *Mantramahodadhi* with the 1st line of the *Vedadīpa* is not accidental. It proves the identity of authorship for both the works as pointed out by Mr. Sarma.

¹ In the British Mus. Ms. of मन्त्रमहोदधिटीका (नौका) the chronogram of the date of composition is “ सायकवेदभूपति ” = A. D. 1589 (Vide p. 46 of Bendall's Cata. 1902).

² Ms. No. 363 of 1883-84 (B. O. R. I.) of this Bhāṣya contains its date of composition viz. Sunday 8th March 1590 = Samvat 1646, Ravivāra, Trayodaśī. (Ind. Ephemeris Vol. V, p. 382.) The chronogram of this date is found in the colophon of the Ms. which reads as follows :—

“ रसवेदांगभूवर्षे भाष्यंते धवले दले ।
त्रयोदश्यां रवेर्वारे वाराणस्यां महीधरः ॥ १ ॥
श्रीरत्नेश्वरमिश्रस्य गुरोः केशवजन्मनः ।
आज्ञया विवृतिं शौल्बीं भाष्यवृत्यनुसारिणीं ॥ २ ॥
विदुषां सुखबोधाय व्यधाद्बुध्यनुसारतः ।
भाष्यं रामकृतां वृत्तिं सूत्राण्यालोच्य तत्त्वतः ॥ ३ ॥
नीलकण्ठो रमानाथः सिताभः चन्द्रशेखरः ।
भैरवेशः रूपासिंधुः समे तुष्यान्नृकेसरी ॥ ४ ॥

इति श्रीमन्महीधरविरचितं शुल्बसूत्रविवरणं समाप्तम् ॥ ”

(God रमानाथ...नृकेसरी mentioned in verse 4 above is the same as रमेश...नृसिंह mentioned in verse 1 at the beginning of का. शु. सू. भाष्य).

“ श्रीनृसिंहं नमस्कृत्य रमेशं भक्तवत्सलं ।

शुल्वस्य विवृतिं वक्ष्यि भाष्यवृत्त्यनुसारिणी ॥ ”

The “ रामकृतावृत्ति ” referred to by Mahidhara in verse 3 of the concluding verses of the काव्यायनशुल्वसूत्रभाष्य was composed by रामचन्द्र वाजपेयिन्, who composed his कुण्डावृत्ति in A. D. 1489 (See Aufrecht CC I, 513) or A. D. 1449 (Kane H. D. Vol. I, p. 534).

(II) In the concluding verses of Mahidhara's विवरण on the योगवासिष्ठसार we find a reference to god नृसिंह or “ नरकेसरी ” in the following extract :—

Ms. No. 75 of 1882-83--folio 71--“ इति श्रीयोगवासिष्ठसारविवरणे महीधरकृते दशमं प्रकरणं ॥ १० ॥

काव्यां वासिष्ठसारस्य विवृतिर्या मया कृता।

तया ब्रह्मस्वरूपोसौ प्रीयतां नरकेसरी ॥१॥

यस्य तृष्णा न विश्रांता दरिद्रं तस्य वै पुत्रं ।

यस्य तृष्णा हि विश्रांता स सुखी प्राणिनां प्रभुः ॥ २ ॥

संवत् १७७५ वर्षे चैत्र शुदि २ बुद्धेल० पं० भूला विश्वेश्वर ॥ शिवोहं ॥
श्री ॥ ”

The above Ms is dated Samvat 1775 = A. D. 1719. Another Ms of Mahidhara's विवरण¹ on the योगवासिष्ठसार viz. No. 74 of 1882-83 is dated “ संवत् १७३० ” = A. D. 1674. On folio 1^a of this Ms we have the endorsement “ यतीन्द्रसधुसूदनस्यायं योगवासिष्ठसारः शिवाय प्रदत्तः ” Ms No. 279 of 1892-95 is dated Samvat 1808 = A. D. 1752.

(III) Mahidhara mentions God नृहरि in the following verse at the commencement of the विष्णुभाक्तिकल्पलताविवरण composed in A. D. 1597-8 (= Samvat 1654) :—²

¹ Vide p. 194 of Bendall's *Cata. of Brit. Mus. Mss.*, 1902—Ms. No. 1302 of Mahidhara's *Vivarana* is dated A. D. 1782.

² The following verse at the end of the ms. contains the chronogram of the date (श्रुति, बाण, रस, इन्दु).

“ श्रुतिबाणरसेन्दुमानवर्षे

नभसि स्कन्ददिने सितेऽर्कवारे ।

महिदासबुधो गिरीशपुत्र्यौ

कृतवान्कल्पलताप्रकाशतां हि ॥ ”

In the Ms. (No. 63 of 1886-92) of पुरुषसूक्तटीका by महीधर I do not find any reference to नृसिंह. The Ms. of शतरुद्रिय होम (No. 82 of 1886-92) ends as follows :—

(Continued on the next page)

Ms. No. 320 of A 1881-82—

“ नृहरि गिरिशं गिरिजां गणेशं

युरुपादाब्जयुगं शिवं प्रणम्य ।

गुरुभक्तिलताभिधेन काव्ये

विवृत्तिं वच्मि यथामतीशतुष्टये ॥ १ ॥ ”

(IV) The work मातृकानिघण्टु mentioned by Aufrecht as the work of महीधर begins with an invocation to नृसिंह, गणेश and शिव as follows :—

Ms. No. 248 of A 1883-84—dated Samvat 1875 = A. D. 1819 ¹

“ श्रीनृसिंहं गणेशानं भारतामीश्वरं शिवम् ।

नत्वा वक्ष्ये मातृकाया निघंटं बालबुद्धये ॥ १ ॥

(V) The invocation of the ईशावास्योपनिषद्भाष्य of महीधर reads as follows :—

Ms. No. 5 of 1895-98 dated Śaka 1775 = A. D. 1853. ²

“ गणेशं नृहरिं लक्ष्मीं नत्वा तत्कृपया मया ।

संहिताचरमाध्याये वेददीपो वितन्यते ॥ १ ॥ ”

(continued from the previous page)

“ श्रीमन्महीधरकृते वेददीपमनोहरे ।

शतरुद्रियहोमोऽयं षोडशोऽध्याय इति : ”

इति श्रीमहीधरकृते वेददीपे शतरुद्रियहोममन्त्रकथनम् नाम षोडशोऽध्यायः ।

¹ The Ms. ends as follows :—

Folio 5—

“ ग्रंथाननेकानालोक्य महीदासेन धीमता ।

मातृकाक्षरसंज्ञेयबुद्धस्य परबुद्धये ॥ ५७ ॥

इति मातृकानिघण्टः पूर्तिमगमत् ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १८७५ मा. १२ शनिवासरे ॥ ”

² The colophon of the Ms. reads as follows :—

Folio 10-11—

“ श्रीमन्महीधरकृते वेददीपे मनोहरे ।

व्यास्तचर्मोऽध्यायः एवमात्मननिरूपकः ॥

इति श्रीवेददीपे चत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ श्रीकल्याणमस्तु ॥

इति वाजसनेयसंहितायां ईशावास्यभाष्यसंपूर्णमस्तु ॥ शके १७७५ प्रमादी नाम संवत्सरे उदगयने ग्रीष्मऋतौ ज्येष्ठमासे कृष्णपक्षे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे ॥ लिखितं मोरेश्वर सदाशिव पाठकस्थेदं पुस्तकं ॥ स्वार्थं ॥ परार्थं च ॥ हस्ताक्षर शौचे इत्युपनामकस्य वासुदेवेन लिखितं etc. ”

(VI) महीधर refers to god नृसिंह in the concluding verse ¹ of his रामगीताटीका which reads as follows:—

Ms. No. 31 of A. 1883-84—folio 12.

“ नमो गण्डरूप मिते² च वषे

मास्याश्विने कृष्णदले भगाहौ ।

विश्वेशपुर्यां नृसिंहतुष्ट्यै

श्रीरामगीतां विवृतिमहीताक् ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रीमहीधरविरचिता रामगीतावृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥

(VII) In the षडंगरुद्रजपटीका the author महीधर invokes gods नृसिंह, गणेश etc. as follows:—

Ms. No. 113 of 1882-83 dated Samvat 1778 ³ = A.D. 1722, -fol. 1

“ नृसिंहं गणपतिं वाणीं नत्वा गुरुपदांबुजं ।

चतुस्त्रिंशतेऽध्याये वेददीपोऽधुनोच्यते ॥ ”

From the uniform references to god नृसिंह in his works it appears that महीधर was specially devoted to this god and hence it is but natural that this god should be invoked in the वेददीप as also the मन्त्रमहोदधि and other works of महीधर.

In addition to the identity of invocations at the beginning of the वेददीप and the मन्त्रमहोदधि Mr. Sarma urges against Dr. Sarup's date for महीधर the identity of the genealogy ⁴ of महीधर

¹ The invocation at the commencement of the work is as follows:—

“ गणेशं कमलानाथं प्रणिपत्य गुरोः पदं ।

करिष्ये रामगीताया व्याख्यानं बालबोधये ॥ १ ॥ ”

² The chronogram नमस्, अंग, षड्, रूप = Sam. 1660 (month of Āśvina, Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa and Sunday (भगाहौ)). This date may correspond to 16th or 23rd October 1603 (Vide p. 9 of Vol. VI of *Indian Ephemeris*). Aufrecht has recorded only two dates of composition of two different works of महीधर viz. A. D. 1589 and 1597. The above chronogram gives us A. D. 1603 as the 3rd date of composition of Mahidhara's work रामगीताटीका.

³ This date is recorded on folio 20— “ संवत् १७७८ वर्षे माघ शुदी गुरवौ लेखः ” Folio 25— “ इति षडंगरुद्रजपभाष्यं भट्टमहीदासविरचितं समाप्तं ”

The B. O. R. I. No. 63 of 1886-92 is महीधर's भाष्य on the पुरुषसूक्त. It does not contain any reference to god नृसिंह either at the beginning or at the end. It ends— “ वेददीपे महीधरकृते. ”

⁴ This is given in the *Vedadīpu*, as also in the *Mantramahodadhi*:—

“ श्रीमद्वत्सकृपेः कुले समभवर्गला(द्रतना)करः पण्डितः

तत्सूनुः फनु संज्ञकः समजनि श्रीविद्ययोर्भाजनम् ।

(continued on the next page)

as recorded by him in the वाजसनेयसंहिताटीका called वेददीप and also the मन्त्रमहोदधि. Both these works give an identical genealogy as follows :--

रत्नाकर (of वःसकुल)

|
Son

फनुभट्ट (or रामभक्त)

|
Son

महीधर (author of वेददीप¹ and मन्त्रमहोदधि composed in A. D. 1589.)

The above identity of genealogy furnished by both the *Veda-dīpa* and the *Mantramahodadhi* is a conclusive proof of the iden-

(continued from the previous page)

तत्पुत्रस्तु महीधरः समलिखन्मन्त्रार्थं मैत्रे(शे)पुरे

स्वीयज्ञानरुते तेनो (ततोवि) तनुतां सन्मङ्गलं श्रीपातिः ॥ ”

(Weber *Vāj. Sam.* Various Readings and corrections of the Press, p. 19.)

‘ आसीद्रत्नाकरो नाम विद्वान्ख्यातो धरातले ।

तत्तनूजो रामभक्तः फनुभट्टाभिधोऽभवत् ॥

महीधरस्तदुत्पन्नः संसारासारतां विदन् ॥

निजदेशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणसीं पुरीम् ॥

सेवमानो नरहरिं तत्र ग्रन्थमिमं व्यधात् ।

—*Mantramahodadhi* (Calcutta Edn. p. 398.)

1 The B. O. R. Institute possesses the following dated Mss of the *Vedadīpa* :—

No. 31 of 1879-80—Śaka 1672=A. D. 1750.

No. 10 of A. 1881-82—*Sam.* 1858=A. D. 1802.

No. 32 of 1879-80—*Sam.* 1728=A. D. 1672.

No. 41 of 1887-91—*Sam.* 1671=A. D. 1615.

Vide folio 37—

“ संवत् १६७१ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि षष्ठी भृगुवासरे वाल्मीकज्ञाति आचार्य-
पद्माकरेण लिखितं जयदेव पठनार्थं परोपकारार्थं शुभमस्तु ”

This appears to be the earliest dated Ms of the *Vedadīpa* copied in A. D. 1615 i. e. 12 years after महीधर's composition of the रामगीताटीका in A. D. 1603. The India Office Mss of the *Vedadīpa* bear the date *Samvat* 1791=A. D. 1735 (Vide p. 29 of *Ind. Office Cata.* Part I, 1887). The British Mus. Ms. No. 933 of *Vedadīpa* appears to have been copied from an original copy dated *Sam.* 1690=A. D. 1634 (Vide p. 37 of Bendall's *Cata.* 1902).

tity of authorship for both the works, one of which was composed in A. D. 1589.

In the *Mantramahodadhi* Mahidhara refers to a son of his called कल्याण who along with other Brahmans helped Mahidhara to compose the *Mantramahodadhi* in A. D. 1589. ¹

1 The colophon of the *Mantramahodadhi* is important as it gives us more details about Mahidhara's family than what we find recorded in his other works. I shall, therefore, reproduce it below :—

Ms. No. 1138 of 1886-92—folios 150-151.

“ अहिच्छत्रद्विजछत्रवत्सगोत्रसमुद्भवः ।

आसीद् रत्नाकरो नाम विद्वत्ख्यातो धरातले ॥ २० ॥

तत्तनूजो रामभक्त क(फ)नूभट्टा भिदोभवत् ।

महीधरस्तद(दु)पन्नः संसारासारतां विदन् ॥ २१ ॥

निजदेशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणसीं पुरीं ।

सेव्यमानो नरहरिं तत्र यन्थोमिमं व्यधात् ॥ २२ ॥

कल्याणाभिधपुत्रेण तथान्यै द्विजसत्तमैः ।

अनेकानागमग्रंथान्विलोकितुमनीश्वरैः ॥ २३ ॥

एकग्रंथास्थितं सर्वतंत्राणां सारमिच्छुभिः ।

संग्रार्थितः स्वमत्यासौ नाम्ना मन्त्रमहोदधिं ॥ २४ ॥

आविच्छिन्नान्वयाः संतु निजधर्मपरायणाः ।

मंगलानि प्रपश्यन्तु सर्वे द्रोहपराङ्मुखाः ॥ २५ ॥

हरिः करोतु कल्याणं सर्वेषां जगदीश्वरः ।

प्रवर्त्तयन्तिमं ग्रंथं यावद्वेदो रविः शशी ॥ २६ ॥

नरसिंहो महादेवो महादेवार्तिनाशनः ।

मुदे परो महालक्ष्म्या देवावरनतोस्तु मे ॥ २७ ॥

नृसिंह उत्संग समुद्रजो मां । समुद्रजद्वीपगृहे निपस्तः ।

समुद्रजो हीनमतिः सदा व्यात् । समुद्रभक्तास्त्रिलसिद्धिदायी ॥ २८ ॥

राजा लक्ष्मीनृसिंहो जयति सुखकरं श्रीनृसिंहं भजेयं ।

धैत्याधीशा महांतो वसतु नृहरिणा श्रीनृसिंहाय नमो ।

सेव्यो लक्ष्मीनृसिंहादपर...ह नहि श्रीनृसिंहस्यपादौ ।

सेवे लक्ष्मीनृसिंहं वसतु मम मनः श्रीनृसिंहावभक्त ॥ २९ ॥

विश्वेशे गिरिजाबिंदुमाधवो मणिकर्णिका ।

भैरवो जाह्नवी दंडपाणिर्मे तन्वतां शिवं ॥ ३० ॥

अब्दे विक्रमतो जाते बाणवेदनुपैर्मिते ।

ज्येष्ठाष्टम्यां शिवस्याये पूर्णे मन्त्रमहोदधिः ॥ ३१ ॥

This reference by the learned father to his son proves that the son was also devoted to the learned pursuits of his father. It appears that कल्याण mentioned by महीधर as his son in the *Mantramahodadhi* is identical with कल्याण who composed a work on medicine called बालतंत्र in A. D. 1587¹ i. e. two years before the composition of the *Mantramahodadhi*. At the commencement of his *Bālatantra* Kalyāṇa states that he composed this work on the basis of *Prayogasāra*, *Suśruta* and other works.² At the end³ of

¹ Aufrecht CCI, 86—"कल्याण, son of Mahīdhara, grandson, of Rāmadāsa composed in 1587.

--बालतंत्र (med.) L. 818. K. 214. Peters 3. 399.

CCI, 371—"बालतंत्र med. B. 4. 230.

--by कल्याण, Son of Mahīdhara, L. 818. K. 214. P. Peters, 399.

CCII, 84--"बालतंत्र med. by कल्याण, son of Mahīdhara. Oudh XX, 174. Peters. 4. 40.

CCIII, 79—"बालचिकित्सा or बालतंत्र in 14 Paṭalas by कल्याण, son of Mahīdhara, grandson of Rāmadāsa. AK. 999. AS p. 117. Bd. 900 Lz 1181 (breaks off in ninth Paṭala).

The Mss of the बालतंत्र in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute are as follows :--

No. 623 of 1895-1902--dated Saṁvat 1682=A. D. 1626.

No. 593 of 1899-1915--dated Saṁvat 1848=A. D. 1792.

No. 999 of 1891-95--dated Saṁvat 1836=A. D. 1780.

No. 1063 of 1886-92--dated (Saṁvat) 1808=A. D. 1752.

No. 433 of 1884-86--incomplete.

Possibly Ms No. 623 of 1895-1902 copied in A. D. 1626, may prove to be the earliest dated Ms of the *Bālatantra*.

² Ms No. 999 of 1891-95 of *Bālatantra* begins--

“विघ्नव्रत(त)ति विध्वंसकारिणं दुःखहारिणं ।

कल्याणोहं नमस्कुर्वे विघ्नेशं ग्रंथसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

प्रयोगसारप्रमुखागमेषु । प्रोक्तेषु शास्त्रेषु च सुश्रुतायै ।

यदुक्तमेकत्र विरच्यतेस्मिन् । ग्रंथे मया तत् खलु बालतंत्रे ॥ २ ॥

³ The above Ms ends as follows :--

“ग्रंथान्विलोक्य प्रचुरप्रयोगान्

पदैः स्वकीयैः कतिचिद्वदयैः ।

रामचंद्रार्चनरतो रामदासः सतां प्रियः ॥ २ ॥

विद्वज्जनह्लादकरो मनस्वी महीधरः

सर्वजनाभिवंद्यः लक्ष्मीनृसिंहाग्रिसरोजभृंगः

तदात्मजो भूद्विदितागमार्थः ॥ ३ ॥

(continued on the next page)

the work he refers to his own father महीधर as a devotee of god लक्ष्मीनृसिंह and also to his grandfather रामदास who was a devotee of god Rāmacandra. He also records the date of composition of the work viz. Samvat 1644 (=A. D. 1587 mentioned by Aufrecht). He belonged to the अहिच्छत्र line.¹ Mahidhara also mentions this line of Brahmans "अहिच्छत्र, द्विजछत्र वत्स गोत्र समुद्भवः" in the *Mantramahodathi*. Mr. Nanda Lal Dey (p. 2 of *Geogr. Dictionary*, 1927) identifies अहिच्छत्र with Ramnagar, 20 miles west of Bareilly in Rohilkhanda. In the Plates of Gayādatuṅgadeva (J. P. A. S. B. Vol. V. pp. 348ff) the grantees are certain Brahmans who originally came from Ahicchatra and settled in Odra-viṣṣya. In a Jain rock Inscription² of A.D. 1170 (5th February) reference is made to one सामन्त, a Brahman of the वत्सगोत्र in अहिच्छत्रपुर. It appears to me that Mahidhara and his son Kalyāṇa, who state that they belong to the अहिच्छत्र line and the वत्सगोत्र were descended from the line of Brahmans in अहिच्छत्रपुर having the वत्सगोत्र referred to in A. D. 1170. If this view is

(continued from the previous page)

कल्याण इत्युद्गत नामधेय-

स्तदात्मजो ग्रंथवरान्विलोक्य ।

परोपकाराय च बंधतंत्र ।

सतासमालोकनयोग्यमेतत् ॥ ४ ॥

युगवेदयथाकाशमिते वर्षे नभै रवौ

पौर्णिमायां चकारेदं लिलव च शिवालये ॥ ५ ॥

The Chronogram युग, वेद, रस, आकाश, = Samvat 1644 = A. D. 1587.

¹ On p. 219 of *Notices* (Vol. II, 1874) Rajendralal Mitra describes Ms No.818 of बालतन्त्र and observes:—"The author was born in Ahichatra but the work was completed at Benares on Sunday the full moon of Śrāvaṇa in the Saka year 644 = A. D. 720." These remarks are quite wrong as the Chronogram, viz. युग, वेद, रस, आकाश = 1644 and not 644 as stated by Mitra. The exact date appears to be Sunday 28th July 1588 (vide *Ind. Ephemeris* Vol. V p. 379). The Ms described by Mitra has the reading "अहिच्छत्राश्रयोजातः" which is obviously a wrong reading for "अहिच्छत्रान्वये जातः" found in the oldest copy of the work of A. D. 1626 which records the verse correctly as follows:—

"अहिच्छत्रान्वये जातः पंडितैकशिरोमणिः ।

रामचंद्रार्चनरतो रामदासः सतां प्रियः ॥ २७ ॥"

² Vide p. 51 of D. R. Bhandarkar : *Inscriptions in Northern Ind.*—Inscri. No. 344—*Sam.* 1226—Inscription at Bijolia (Udaipur State, Rajputana).

accepted we have to state that his line flourished at Ahicchatra (or Ramnagar) for no less than 400 years and Mahidhara left his country and went to Benares,¹ say between A. D. 1575 and 1590 for spiritual reasons after having passed his early life at Ahicchatra (or Ramnagar).

As a result of the foregoing discussion we are in a position to reconstruct the genealogy of Mahidhara as follows :—

रत्नाकर--C. A. D. 1490 (of वत्सगोत्र ; at अहिच्छत्र)

|
Son

रामदास or रामभक्त² alias फलुभट्ट (at अहिच्छत्र)--C. A. D. 1520.

|
Son

महीधर--Between 1540 and 1610 A. D. (at Benares) Pupil of
रत्नेश्वर (Son of Keśava).

|
Son

कल्याण³— Between 1575 and 1640 A. D. (at Benares).

The dates of composition of the works of Mahidhara and his son Kalyāṇa recorded in this paper, together with the dates of Mss of these works noticed by me are given below with a view to facilitate further study of the chronology of the works for which no date could be fixed by me in this study :—

¹ Cf. “ निजदेशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणशीं पुरीम् ” (*Mantramahodadhi*). It appears that Mahidhara's son Kalyāṇa also migrated to Benares along with his father and carried on his literary pursuits at this seat of learning.

² Cf. Aufrecht CCI, 515—“ रामदास or रामभक्त Son of Ratnākara, father of Mahidhara, grandfather of Kalyāṇa (Bālatantra, 1587) L. 818, Oxf. 100^a ”

³ Aufrecht CCI, 86 makes the following entry :—

“ कल्याणसूत्र a contemporary of Mahidhara (1589) Oxf. 100^b ”

Evidently the above entry is based on the wrong reading of Oxford Ms wherein we have “ कल्याणामिधसूत्रेण ” instead of “ कल्याणामिधसूत्रेण.” Mahidhara is here referring to his son Kalyāṇa. There was no such person as कल्याणसूत्र. This is only a comedy of errors.

A. D.	Samvat	Śaka	Particulars
			<i>Dates of Composition</i>
			<i>M</i> = Mahidhara; <i>K</i> = Kalyāṇa
1588	1644	„	<i>K</i> refers to his father <i>M</i> in his <i>Bālatantra</i>
1588	1644	„	Kalyāṇa (Mahidhara's son) composed his <i>Bālatantra</i>
1589	1645	„	<i>M</i> composed <i>Mantramahodadhi</i> in which he refers to <i>K</i>
1590	1646	„	<i>M</i> composed his <i>Kūtyāyanaśulbasūtrabhāṣya</i>
1597	1654	„	<i>M</i> composed <i>Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatāvivaraṇa</i>
1603	1660	„	<i>M</i> composed his comm on <i>Rāmāgītā</i>
			<i>Dates of MSS</i>
1614	1671	„	B. O. R. I. MS. of <i>Vedadīpa</i> of <i>M</i> copied- (No 41 of 1887-91)
1626	1682	„	MS of <i>K</i> 's <i>Bālatantra</i> (No. 623 of 1895-1902)
1672	1728	„	MS of <i>M</i> 's <i>Vedadīpa</i> (No. 32 of 1879-80)
1674	1730	„	MS of <i>M</i> 's <i>Yogavāsīṣṭhasūra vivaraṇa</i> (No. 74 of 1882-83)
1678	1734	1600	MS of रामगीताटीका in America
1719	1775	„	—Do— (No. 75 of 1882-83)
1722	1778	„	MS of <i>M</i> 's <i>Saṅgārudrajapa-tikā</i> (No. 113 of A 1882-83)
1752	1808	„	MS of <i>Yoga. vā. vivaraṇa</i> (No. 279 of 1892-95)
1819	1875	„	MS of <i>M</i> 's <i>Mātrkānighaṇṭu</i> (No. 243 of A. 1883-84)

Judging by the works of Mahidhara examined by me in this paper, Mahidhara appears to have been a versatile writer. Whether he composed works pertaining to subjects not covered up by the list of his works recorded by Aufrecht is a matter for

investigation.¹ There is reason to believe in the identity of Mahīdhara the author of the *Vedādīpa* etc. with Mahīdhara the author of the commentaries on the *Līlāvātī* and the *Brhājñātaka*. I am not, however, quite sure about the identity of this author with

¹ महीदास appears to have been a second name of महीधर (Aufrecht CCI, 444). If this is so, we must examine the works ascribed to writers of the name महीदास and महीधर as well. The following entries made by Aufrecht need to be examined :—

“महीदास—चरणव्यूहभाष्य”

“महीदास—ताजकमणि, मणित्थ, लीलावती टीका composed in 1587 वर्षफल पद्धति”

महीधर—बृहज्जातकविवरण”

Ms No. 342 of 1882-83 of the बृहज्जातकविवरण begins—

“श्रीगणेशं नृसिंहं च शारदां गुरुपंकजं ।

नत्वा संक्षेपतो वच्मि बृहज्जातकटिप्पणं ॥ १ ॥

compare महीधर षडंगरुद्रजपटीका—

“नृसिंहं गणपतिं वाणीं नत्वा गुरुपदाम्बुजं

compare also लीलावतीविवरण (Ms. No. 569 of 1895-1902).

“नत्वा लक्ष्मीनृपंचास्यं हेरंबं भारतीं रविं ।

लीलावतीविवरणं वक्ष्ये गुरुपावशात् ॥”

The date of composition of the बृहज्जातकविवरण is Śaka 1520 = A. D. 1598 as recorded in Ms 342 of 1882-83 (A. D. 1745).

“ख नेत्रेषु शितांशु १५२० शाके व्यतीति

सहो मासि धातुस्तिथौ सोमवारे ।

महीदासविप्रो महेशानुपुर्याम्

बृहज्जातके टिप्पणं संव्यधत् ॥ १ ॥

This verse is followed by salutation to God नृसिंह who is referred to in all works of महीधर—

“वरा भीतिचक्रं पिनाकं दधानं

त्रिनेत्रे कणीशातपत्रं सिताभं ।

श्रियालिंगितं दाडिमं सद्भक्त्या

नृसिंहं विरच्यादि सेव्यं भजेयम् ॥ २ ॥

S. B. Dikshit (p. 486 of *Bhā. Jyotiḥśāstra*, 1896) identifies महीदास and महीधर who composed लीलावती टीका in A. D. 1587 and बृहज्जातकविवरण in A. D. 1598. The B. O. R. I. Ms of लीलावतीटीका of १. दास viz. No. 205 of 1882-84 is dated *Samvat 1783* = A. D. 1677.

Mahidāsa the author of a commentary on the *Caranavyūha*.¹

In view of the data recorded in this paper I would request Dr. Sarup to reexamine his date for Mahidhara viz. 12th century and give us his final opinion on the question of Mahidhara's date in the light of any other independent evidence which he may have gathered since the publication of his paper in support or otherwise of the views already expressed by him. I have not succeeded so far in finding out any evidence in support of an early date for Mahidhara but on the contrary I have recorded ample evidence in this paper to prove that *Mahidhara flourished between A. D. 1530 and 1610 or so.*²

¹ Vide p. 26 of Vol. I (Vedic) of *Cata. of Baroda Mss*, 1925—Ms. No. 41 (चरणव्यूह with भाष्य of महीदास) is described with the remark “ D.C.C. Samvat 1613.” If this is date of composition we have to take A. D. 1557 as the date of composition of this भाष्य, which agrees with महीदास's lifetime say between A. D. 1540 and 1610 as fixed by me. If this date is the date of the Ms I find it difficult to harmonise it with the lifetime of our Mahidhara, the author of the *Vedadīpa* and the *Mantramahodadhi*. On p. 10 of the *List of Ujjain Mss.* (1936) we find the following entry :—

“ No. 226—चरणव्यूहव्याख्या by महीदास (काशी)
(काल) सं० १६०३ (लेखक) विश्वेश्वर
(copied in) सं० १९३६—पूर्ण ”

It appears from the above entry that Samvat 1603 = A. D. = 1541 is the date of composition of Mahidhara's भाष्य on the चरणव्यूह while according to the entry in the *Baroda Cata.* quoted above the date of composition of this work appears to be A. D. 1557. I am unable to verify these dates at present as the Mss at Ujjain and Baroda are not before me. In case, however, we can prove this महीदास to be identical with महीदास the author of the वेददीप and other works we shall have to fix his life-time between say A. D. 1520 and 1610, a period of 80 years, which is not an impossibility as his son कल्याण composed a work in A. D. 1587.

² After this paper was composed by the press I had an occasion to consult Prof. Bhagavadatta's *History of Vedic Literature* (in Hindi) Lahore, 1931, pp. 92-95. I am glad to find that Prof. Bhagavadatta's criticism of Dr. Sarup's date for Mahidhara though brief coincides with mine and is justified by the evidence gathered in this paper.

“VEDIC LORES”*

I—*Three wheels of Ásvins' Car.*

BY

HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, B.A. (Bombay, 1)

In this article, the writer proposes to deal with a lore connected with the twin gods Ásvins. The understanding of several of the Vedic gods from an astronomical background opens up our path to the interpretation of several lores narrated in the Vedic texts. In the article “Vedic Gods I-IV” in A. B. I (Poona) Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, Sec. III-IV, pp. 117-150 several prominent features of Ásvins have been considered. The reader has to refer to it (the article) to understand what is stated herein. Reference is made to the late Prof. Macdonell's “Vedic Mythology.”

The lore we now explain runs as under :—“The Ásvins' car is the only one which is *three*-wheeled (Rv. I, 118, 1, 2). One of its wheels is said to have been lost when the Ásvins came to the wedding of Sūryā (X, 85, 15).” -Mac. p. 50.

The verses 14-16 of Rv. X, 85 are as follows :—

“When O Ásvins you were invited, you started on your three wheeled car to marry Sūryā. All the gods consented and the son Pūṣan selected the twin fathers.

“O Ásvins, when you had approached with a view to woo Sūryā, where was your one wheel? and then where was your stay?

“O Sūryā, those two wheels of yours are known to season-knowing priests. The one wheel which was invisible, that was known only to the learned wise.”

We are informed in Rv. VII, 69, 4, that “the young sun-maiden chose your car-with lustre (around you)-at night.”

Over and above the twin Ásvins, Soma figures in the marriage of maiden Sūryā. “In a later hymn (Rv. X, 85, 9) it is said that when Savitr gave Sūryā to her husband (patye), Soma was wooer (vadhūyu) while Ásvins were groomsmen (varā)” -Mac. p. 51.

* This paper was submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference Travandrum (Travancore), December, 1938.

On the whole we know that "They (Ásvins) are Sūryā's two husbands (IV, 43, 6; cp. I, 119, 5) whom she chose (VII, 69, 4). Sūryā (V, 73, 5) or the maiden (VIII, 8, 10) ascended their car. The daughter of the sun mounts their car (I, 34, 5; 116, 17; 118, 5; VI, 63, 5) or chose it (I, 117, 17; IV, 43, 2). They possess Sūryā as their own (VII, 68, 3), and the fact that Sūryā accompanies them on their car is characteristic (VIII, 29, 8)...Owing to their connection with Sūryā the Ásvins are invoked to conduct the bride home on the chariot (C, 85, 26)...In the Av. (II, 30, 2 etc.) they are said to bring lovers together."—Mac. p. 51.

Now the explanations. The Ásvins are connected with night and Dawn. Hence their selection at night time (VII, 69, 4). Dawn means the region of Light and hence the wheel that is lost (X. 85, 16) is the invisibility of this wheel in the light. *The three wheels (X. 85, 14) are the three stars of the constellation Ásvinī* whose regents are the twin deities, the two Ásvins. The two wheels remain in the visible portion, that is, the two stars Beta and Gamma Aries are in the *divine* nocturnal portion and as such visible while the third star (=wheel of their chariot) Alpha Aries (Hamal) is in the *divine* day portion of the heavens. This would mean that the Uṣas, the point of time between divine day and night which we now call equinox, is then between Alpha and Beta Aries. This point is 'commonly' recognised, as stated figuratively that all the gods consented to it, which means, in different words, that of the other constellations, the one of Ásvins for this divine dispensation was agreed upon. The other point of Uṣas is the Autumnal equinox (cf. Sec. IV of the "Vedic Gods") and naturally Soma is there as the wooer of the maiden. In section II in our article on the calendar we saw that out of 134 spaces allotted to the constellation of Ásvinī 69 spaces formed the nocturnal portion whose end marked the beginning of the remaining portion comprising 65 spaces.¹ Being at the point where there is union (celestial, of earth and Sun), they have come to be associated with benedictions of wedlock.

This is the interpretation that suggests to me and I commend it to the scholars for what it is worth.

¹ Ptolemy (A. D. 138 circa) gives longitudes of many of the stars (Memoirs of The Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. XIII, 1843). We give some of them. They are not polar Longitudes.

Aries α aries	10/40	Eta Tauri (alcyone)	Taurus	3/40
" β "	7/40	α Tauri (aldebaran)	"	12/40
" "	6/40	α Virgo spica	Virgo	26/40
		Arcturus	"	27/0

“ A CONTROVERTED READING IN MEGHADŪTA ” *

BY

HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, B.A. (Bombay, 1.)

The second verse of the celebrated poem Meghadūta of Kālidāsa contains a reading which has been much discussed. It is “ the last day of Āṣāḍha ” (आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे) according to some texts, while it is the ‘ first ’ day (प्रथमदिवसे) according to other copies. The writer has discussed the merits of the first reading in his article “ Vedic Gods I-IV ” (A. B. I., Poona, Vol. XVII,) in its section II on calendar pp. 103-104. There is now one more data that the writer finds and which data settles completely the verity of the first reading viz. the last (“ praśama ”) day. The text selected is the one based upon “ Pārśvābhyudaya ” and edited by Prof. Paṭhak (Poona, 1916, 2nd edition).

The data is found in the last line of the stanza 115th which states that the re-union which would take place after four months on the day of Prabodhinī will be in the bright nights of the terminating autumn (“ pariṇataśaraccandrikāsu Kṣapāsu ”).

This data points out the fact that it is the final and bright fortnight of the two months of the Śarad seaason which includes the eleventh day of Kārttika month of waking up of god Viṣṇu. Thus it would make complete four months from the Śrāvaṇa month (st. 4-pratyāsanne Nabhasi) when the rainy season had started (st. 7-“ Sāntaptānām tvam asi śaraṇam ” and st. 8-“ Prekṣiṣyante pathikavanitāh... ”). Thus the last day of the month Āṣāḍha is the valid reading.

The events happen in the following sequence :

(A) End of Grīṣma on the final day of Āṣāḍha brings about the clouds and the next month is Śrāvaṇa (st. 2, 7, 8, 11 etc.).

(B) The end of the year in Kautīlya (II, 7, 25) is on full-moon of Āṣāḍha. They are Pūrṇimānta months. The rains

* The paper was submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference, Travandrum (Travancore), December, 1938.

begin from the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa and accordingly, full-moon of Bhādrapada month would end the rainy season. Then Śarad season would begin with the dark half of Āśvina month and the two months of this season would end on the full-moon of Kārttika month, when it will be *parināta* Śarat moonlit nights.

(C) Thus the remaining four months (st. 115) would be the exact length of time. The ingenuity of the commentators in explaining the incongruities is out of place when we understand that our poet has Pūrṇimānta months and that the last day of Āṣāḍha (st. 2) is the proper reading.

In this connection it will be of interest to note what is stated about the day of Prabodhini festival in the Gangdhar Stone Inscription of Viśvavarman (M. E. 480 A. D. 423/24 expired) Cf. Fleet C. I. I. Vol. III, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 77). In its lines 19ff. we read that...“on the bright thirteenth day of the month Kārttika...when there is the time of the awakening from sleep of (the God) Madhusūdana...”. If this 11th day of Prabodhini day is a solar day (we took it to be the case in our previous discussion) then it need not be exactly the 11th tithi (digit) as it looks to be the case in this inscription. The time of the awakening is not heard to be extended to more than one day to permit us to read this inscription otherwise. But it shows an early instance of the solar day and the lunar digit for this Prabodhini festive day.

It may be noticed that there remains now no ground for any doubt in rejecting the reading “prathama-divase ” (st. 2) and accepting the “praśama-divase ” as the correct one. The fixing up of the months and seasons will help us a good deal in following other texts of our poet. The wrong reading and the confusion that prevailed amongst the commentators show a vast distance of time between their age and that of our poet.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE RACIAL ORIGIN OF NAMBUDR BRAHMANS OF SOUTH INDIA

BY

K. R. CHATTERJEE, M.A., B. L.

Any casual visitor of South-Western India may have noticed the Nambudri Brahman as being somewhat different from the rest of the population. He has a fair complexion while the average people are very dark-brown, and observes certain customs which are peculiar to him alone. Vague statements as to his racial origin have been made by scholars from time to time but no systematic and scientific attempt has as yet been made to point out his true ethnological character. In one point, however, scholars are all agreed, and that is, that the Nambudri Brahman is of the Aryan type. Thus, Thurston in his 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India', asserts, "it is certain that the Nambutiris came from the north." L. Anantakrishna Iyer, another great authority on Indian anthropology writes in his book, 'Cochin Tribes and Castes,' Vol. I, p. 170, "they are the Vedic Aryans of the purest Aryan type." These statements are corroborated by the Census Commissioner of Travancore for 1931 who says in page 361 of the Travancore Census, "the Nambutiri Brahmin is the best available representative of the Aryan type", and in page 363 "the early Aryan immigrants to Kerala belonged to the priestly class now represented by the Nambutiris." Now these statements are all very general in nature and are not backed by actual anthropological data and so an ethnologist may very well hesitate to accept them unless they are not substantiated by evidence of a more scientific nature. In this article I shall try to bring forth that evidence and prove the northern origin of the Nambudris.

I shall, in the first place, compare the anthropometric measurements of the Nambudris with some typically Aryan northern people, as given in the latest official publication (Volume III of the Census Report of India, 1931).

	Stature in milli metre	Cephalic index	Nasal index	Colour of Eye Skin Colour
Nambudiri Brahman...	1676 ...	71.78 ...	60.71 ...	14 ... 7
Sikh	...1767 ...	73.87 ...	67.80 ...	14 .. 3
U. P. Brahman	...1765 ...	71.07 ...	64.41 ...	15 ... 7
Tamil Brahman	...1601 ...	75.51 ...	72.92 ...	15 ... 3
Telegu Brahman	...1621 ...	76.19 ...	73.08 ...	15 ... 1
Chitpavan	...1611 ..	74.24 ...	69.09 ...	13 ... 7

Among the South Indian groups that have been mentioned here the Nambudri is singled out as having the closest affinity with the northern peoples. "Individually the Nambudri is closely related with the U. P. Brahmin." Again, "in the colour of the skin the proportion of the light brown is the greatest (29%) among the Nambudris who show also a very much smaller percentage of dark people." In the colour of the eye they alone of South Indian people 'have a small percentage of clear light brown? The Nambudri is again stated to have a high prominent nose, 16% of which are convex. The face is longish among the Nambudri. The long-headed people of the north (belonging to the Aryan type) is differentiated from similar people of the South (the Dravidian), "not only in stature, in the absolute length and height of the cranial vault, but also in the form and proportion of the face and the nose." So we cannot call the Nambudri a Dravidian though he is longheaded and short in stature like the Dravidian. Difference in other essential somatic features with the Dravadians point out a different racial origin of the Nambudri.

In fact except in stature he can hardly be distinguished from the northern people. The difference in stature may be ascribed to climate and vegetarian diet of the Nambudri.

Not only anthropology but ancient traditions also come to our aid in proving the northern origin of the Nambudri. There is a book called Kerala-utpatti written in the Malayali language. It is alleged to have been written by Sri Samkaracharyya but scholars put its date much later, i. e. seventeenth century A. D. It was first noticed by Captain Duncan in the Asiatic Researches Vol. V. An imperfect translation of it exists in Col. Mackenzie's, "Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts. Vol. II (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1878).

This book gives an account of Malabar and its origin in the legendary fashion. It says that Paraśurāma first brought the land (Malabar) into existence out of the sea and peopled it with persons brought by him from northern India. The book then describes the administrative arrangements made by the people and the accounts of the various kings. Now as a historical document giving relevant facts of history, this book is quite useless. In this respect it is absurd, inconsistent and full of contradictory statements. But however valueless the book may be as a historical document, it contains a great deal of very ancient traditions some of which, specially those concerning cultural and administrative history are very useful and informative. The persons brought by Paraśurāma were all Brahmans and it is curious to note that the Nambudri Brahmans still call themselves Brahmans of Rāma. Though we must reject the connection of Paraśurāma with the Nambudris yet it may be true that the Kerala-utpatti contains in a confused way an account of the northern origin of the Nambudris.

This view is further strengthened when we observe certain customs ascribed to the Brahmans in this book which bear close resemblance to similar customs obtaining among certain northern people in the ancient period of their history. In Panini's grammar and Kautilya's Arthasastra we find mention of two kinds of Samghas or republics called the Ayudhajivin and the shastropajivin samghas respectively. These republics were of an oligarchic character and the people belonging to them observed the practice of arms or military arts. Their strength and prosperity are testified by Greek writers such as Curtius, Arrian, and others also who were struck with the efficient form of their administrative organisation and their military prowess. Now from the Kerala-utpatti we come to know that the Brahmans of Paraśurāma who were settled in 64 villages, at first had an oligarchial form of government. Later on, though a king was elected by the people he was more like the president of a republic or a purely constitutional monarch rather than a king of the autocratic type. There were assemblies, one composed of the Brahmans of the four most important villages and the other consisted of the representatives of the four castes (Varna Kullakams). Without consulting them and a small council of four persons, one from each of the four

favoured villages, the king could do nothing. Throughout the book we come across numerous instances of kings being overthrown by the people and new persons placed on the throne by the people. Thus the position of the king among these people was something like that of the chief executive officer of the state. We further observe that the Brahmans used to take up arms from time to time and were known as protectors of the state. Thus we find that their constitution bore a close resemblance to the military republics of northern India. Like the Samghas of northern India who were not purely military in character, because their constitution required the citizens to devote attention to industry and agriculture, the Brahmans of Paraśurāma also, it is said, had four chief things to attend to, one of which alone was to assemble to consult about government affairs. Further, the instances of the election of kings by them bear close resemblance to the numerous instances of the elective nature of monarchy, as recorded in north Indian literature (Cf. Mahabharata, Shantiparva; Chapters 59 and 67).

From the evidence gathered above, anthropological as well as traditional, we can come to the conclusion that at some remote past the Nambudris migrated from north India with the republican Ayudhajivin constitution and settled in the south. Anthropometric measurements show that they are of the Indo-Aryan type. So it is now possible for us to say with great definiteness that the Nambudri Brahmans of South India are racially only a branch of the Indo-Aryan family.

MISCELLANEA

RĀVAṆA'S LAṆKĀ

BY

DANIEL JOHN, M.B.

In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Volume XVII (1935-36) Mr. M. V. Kibe, M.A. says :—

“In my paper on ‘Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā discovered’ read before the XVII International Congress of Orientalists I had located Laṅkā in the Vindhya Mountain on the description of the route of Rāma to Laṅkā, as given in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. In the present paper I locate it at the same place on the basis of Rāvaṇa's route to Pañcavaṭī and his subsequent movements.” (page 384).

Mr. Kibe admits that in Rāma's as well as Rāvaṇa's route the SEA had to be crossed and that Rāma built the Setu for crossing it and Rāvaṇa “in his golden chariot came to the ocean” (p. 373) and “then crossed the sea” (p. 374).

Obviously Rāvaṇa crossed the sea in his chariot to which Rāvaṇa had asked the “charioteer to yoke the mules who did it in a moment”!!! Mr. Kibe has not clarified what this chariot yoked with mules was, but goes on to say,

“It appears that while Rāvaṇa came to the place (Rāma's hermitage in Janasthāna) in a chariot, which was destroyed by Jaṭāyu, when the former was taking Sītā away, on his way back he had the use of a sort of *glider*.” (p. 374).

Mr. Kibe does not clarify what this *glider* was either.

The identification of the sea crossed and the clarification of the true nature of the CHARIOT yoked with MULES and of the GLIDER used by Rāvaṇa for crossing the sea are of the utmost importance in locating Laṅkā on the basis of Rāvaṇa's route to Pañcavaṭī and his subsequent movements.

THE SEA

Mr. Kibe contends that “the distance between the two coasts although difficult to be crossed by an army without a bridge, loud conversation between the two could be heard. Moreover, a

small party could cross it as Bibhiṣaṇa did." (p. 383). For, Bibhiṣaṇa came to the Northern Coast of the Sea, when Rāma had reached the Southern Coast. There he stood on a high ground and loudly spoke (p. 382).

Yuddhakāṇḍa section xvii says:— " Having addressed Rāvaṇa with these harsh words, his younger brother, reached in no time, *where Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa was*. The leading monkeys, stationed on earth, espied him *on the welkin*,... He was *like unto a collection of clouds*. Bibhiṣaṇa descended from the sky on the *northern shore*. And beholding Sugrīva and all others stationed near him, the highly intelligent Bibhiṣaṇa accosted them, at the highest pitch of his voice, saying " (Dutt's Translation p. 1144ff).

Rāma crossed the sea by bridge, Rāvaṇa by chariot and Bibhiṣaṇa by air! And Rāvaṇa too used a "sort of a glider" for his return journey from Janasthāna !!

Before proceeding to consider Rāvaṇa's and Bibhiṣaṇa's means of crossing the sea, I may point out that Bibhiṣaṇa spoke after alighting on the *Northern Shore where Rāma was*. No sea intervened! The Northern SHORE of the sea was the Southern COAST of India. No mystery surrounds the identity of the sea bridged over by Rāma which Bibhiṣaṇa crossed by air. On his return journey, Rāma points out to Sītā "do thou behold the descending place of the ocean, where I spent the night after crossing the deep for thee . . . the abode of Varuṇa, appearing *as if without the other end*, roaring and abounding in conches and pearl oysters. O Maithili, do thou behold the golden mount, which rose above the deep for affording a resting place unto Hanumān. And on the bank of this ocean I halted with my soldiers, and here Mahādeva, the lord of the celestials, was propitiated with me. It behoveth thee to behold the descending place of the high-souled Ocean, known as Setubandha, worshipped of the three worlds, highly sacred and destroying even the worst sin. There, Bibhiṣaṇa, the king of Rākṣasas first came to me," (Yuddhakāṇḍa cxxv. Dutt's p. 1524-5).

Setu is Rāmeśvaram. Gold mount is Maināka. The other descending place was on the coast of Laṅkā. The sea abounding with conches and pearl oysters is the Palk's Strait and the Gulf of Maṇnar.

It should be particularly noted that Maināka, Naka Tivu (Nayina Tivu) as identified by me, lay between the two landing places, and Rāma on his return journey travelled by the Puṣpaka car, which adds one more to the means of travel over the sea.

It should also be noted that while "Rāvaṇa departed, lighting up all sides, on a sun-shiny car, yoked with mules. And coursing the firmament, that mighty car of that foremost of Rākṣasas looked like the Moon among clouds. And *proceeding far*, he, approaching the asylum (for Tāraka's son), presented himself before him." (Āraṇyakāṇḍa xxxi; Dutt's p. 578), "his younger brother reached *in no time* where Rāma along with Lakṣmaṇa was." (Yuddha K. xvii; Dutt's p. 1144). Although the reference here is to another visit of Rāvaṇa to Mārīca and not the one under consideration, his means of travel and the distance travelled were not different.

THE CHARIOT

Rāvaṇa's journey from Laṅkā to Mārīca's Asylum is described in the Āraṇyakāṇḍam section xxxv.

"And going to the stable *in disguise*, the lord of the Rākṣasas commanded the charioteer, saying, 'Yoke the car.' Thus asked, the *charioteer* possessed of fleet vigor, in a trice, *yoked an excellent car* after his heart. And ascending the car *coursing at will*, proceeded in that *noiseless* (vehicle), past *the lord of rivers and streams* And that one possessed of prowess *beheld* the shore of the sea Then *repairing* to the other shore of that *lord of rivers, the ocean*, Rāvaṇa saw an asylum"—Mārīca's Asylum. (Dutt's pp. 586-8).

That is to say, Rāvaṇa ascended the car on one shore and descended from it on other shore and went to Mārīca's Asylum.

Rāvaṇa's journey from Mārīca's Asylum to Rāma's Asylum is given in Āraṇyakāṇḍam section xlii.

Rāvaṇa said to Mārīca "Do thou now *with me ascend this chariot coursing in the air*, crested with jewels and *driven by asses having faces of a demon*. both of them ascending the chariot like unto a heavenly car set out for the hermitage. And *descending* now from the golden car the lord of Rakṣasas together with Mārīca beheld Rāma's asylum. Taking him (Mārī-

ca) by the hand Rāvaṇa spoke saying 'There stands the asylum of Rāma. Do thou do that for which we have come here'. " (Dutt's p. 601).

That is to say, Mārīca accompanied Rāvaṇa in the same car in which Rāvaṇa had travelled from Laṅkā and both got down at a place from where Rāma's Asylum could be seen.

This chariot, "coursing in the air," "Coursing at will" says Vālmiki, "appeared beautiful like a mass of clouds in the sky, with cranes, in the midst of lightning." (Āraṇya K. xxxv; Dutt's p. 386). This is a poetical description of a sailing boat. The "mass of clouds" is the sails, the cranes the stay-sails, and lightning the rigging. The helmsman steers the ship in the desired direction; hence, "coursing at will." From several references in the Rāmāyaṇa and other ancient poetical works I have come to the conclusion that "aerial way" and other similar phrases are conventional expressions for "sailing."

The boat is Mr. Kibe's "glider." Bibhiṣaṇa being espied "on the welkin" "like unto a collection of clouds" and his descending "from the sky" do but express that he was on the boat when seen and he descended from the boat. The Puṣpaka of Kubera was no other than a gorgeous barge, which, it should be particularly noted, was no other than the chariot in which Rāvaṇa with Vaiḍeḥī hastened to Laṅkā (Yuddha K. section cxxviii; Dutt's p. 1535). To the Puṣpaka did the charioteer of Rāvaṇa "yoke the mules!"

THE MULES

Though the charioteer yoked the mules,¹ the chariot, instead of being drawn by them, was it is said, "*driven by asses*"¹ (Dutt's p. 601)--Vide supra.

They were not four-legged asses but two-legged ones. They had the faces of a demon! They were Rākṣasa boatmen whom the Captain of the boat ordered to their respective post (yoked). Under the captain's orders they manipulated the sails; hence, the boat was "driven by" them while the Captain directed its course at his will.

¹ Ass=kalutai (Tamil)=neḍuṇ kuralan (Tamil)=one with terrible sound, "One emitting terrible accents" (vide infra).

Mule=Kō ēru kalutai (Tamil)—king's saddle-ass, Rākṣasas with terrible accents carrying the king from shore to boat etc.

But, one may ask, "How does Vālmiki say in section xlix of the *Āraṇyakāṇḍam* that the celestial car of Rāvaṇa was *drawn by asses*?" (Dutt's p. 621). This I shall explain presently.

Then, Vālmiki's description of Rāvaṇa's journey to Pañcavaṭī on the basis of which Mr. Kibe locates Laṅkā in the Vin-dhya Mountain amounts to saying that Rāvaṇa left Laṅkā aboard a boat, crossed the ocean, took Mārīca aboard, reached a landing place close to Pañcavaṭī, left the boat and went about his particular business, having instructed Mārīca to do his part.

It is obvious that Pañcavaṭī was on a waterway. Otherwise the boat could not have reached it as it did. This waterway was the Godāvari which was within easy access even to Sitā. For, we find Rāma saying "O Lakṣmaṇa, do thou speedily repair to the river Godaveri and learn if Sitā hath gone there to fetch lotuses." (*Āraṇya K. lxiv*; Dutt's p. 657).

In the *guise of a mendicant*, Rāvaṇa went to Rāma's asylum, obviously on foot. No sooner than he had abducted Sitā, "Instantly appeared there the celestial car of Rāvaṇa, drawn by asses and making a terrible sound. Thereupon, that one emitting terrible accents, remonstrated with Vaidehī in harsh words and clasping her ascended the car. . . . Rāvaṇa . . . rose high up with her . . . Being thus carried away by the ethereal track she espied Jaṭāyu, the king of vultures, seated on a tree." (*Āraṇya K. xlix*; Dutt's pp. 621-2). It will be remembered that Rāvaṇa boarded the boat in Laṅkā in disguise.

That is to say, Rāvaṇa carrying Sitā hurried back to the calling out loudly to his men. The boatmen (asses) *dragged the boat to the bank* of the Godaveri to facilitate boarding and Rāvaṇa clasping Sitā ascended the boat. Lo! Jaṭāyu sitting on a tree (a raft) appeared on the scene and challenged Rāvaṇa. "Thereupon they began a terrible conflict in the welkin, like unto clouds driven by wind. There occurred a mighty conflict between Jaṭāyu, the lord of vultures, and Rāvaṇa, the lord of Rākṣasas, like unto two Malyavan hills *supplied with wings*." (*Āraṇya K. li*; Dutt's p. 625). Here Vālmiki identifies Jaṭāyu and Rāvaṇa with the boats they were in (hills supplied with wings). The fight took place on the boats (welkin), and as at

proceeded Rāvaṇa fell down on the bank with Vaidehī on his lap. He boarded the boat again taking Maithilī with him. Jaṭāyu, darting towards Rāvaṇa, resisted him. Leaving aside Sītā. Rāvaṇa assailed Jaṭāyu and Jaṭāyu fell down on the bank. Sītā, free, darted off the boat and was by the side of the wounded Jaṭāyu lamenting (Āraṇya K. li). Rāvaṇa darted towards her, seized her and boarded his boat and sailed off (Āraṇya K. lit), "coursed through the sky."

While the boat was proceeding down the Godāvarī, Vaidehī saw Sugrīva and four others stationed on the top of a hill (boat) and threw her scart and ornaments into their midst, unobserved by Rāvaṇa, Rāvaṇa's boat passed by Pampā and reached the ocean (Āraṇya K. liv).

Near about the mouth of the Godāvarī, Supārśva, Sampāti's son stood on Rāvaṇa's way. Supārśva says "Father, taking to my wings at the proper time for procuring flesh, I (went) and stood, obstructing the pass of Mahendra mountain. There stood I looking down, obstructing the way of thousands of creatures ranging the sea. There I saw somebody resembling a mass of crushed collyrium, going away, taking a female resampling the rising sun in splendour. Seeing them, I had made up my mind that they should serve for thy fare, when he humbly in a pacific manner begged for way. And summoning celerity, he went on as if pushing off the sky by his energy." (Kiṣkindhā K. lix; Dutt's p. 853).

It is obvious that Supārśva was in a boat, fishing in the sea near Mount Mahendra, the "wings" being his boat and the "creatures ranging the sea" the fishes.

Rāvaṇa's boat speeding away looked "as if pushing off the sky." "And speedily, like an arrow shot from a bow, he coursing the welkin, left behind woods and streams and mountains and pieces of water. And coming to the abode of Varuṇa, that refuge of rivers, the exhaustless ocean—the home of whales and alligators, he crossed over it" and entered the city of Laṅkā. (Āraṇya K. liv).

"And the lovely city of Laṅkā, reared by Viśvakarmā, lieth" says Sampāti, "a full hundred yojanas hence on an island in the sea." (Kiṣkindhā K. lviii; Dutt's p. 851). Sampāti said this

near Prasravaṇa hill, at the foot of the Vindhya mountain (Kiṣ-kindhā K. lii, liis, lvi).

Of the building of the city of Laṅkā Viśvakarmā says :—

“On the shore of the Southern sea is a mountain named Trikūṭa. A second also is there called Suvela, ye lords of Rākṣasas. On the midmost peak of that mountain resembling clouds, inaccessible even to the fowls of the air, all the four quarters have been hewn with bones. If I am desired by you, I can construct the city of Laṅkā (there)” (Uttarakāṇḍa v; Dutt's p. 1566). And he did construct it there.

TRIKŪṬA

Mr. Kibe says, “In the neighbourhood (of Prasravaṇa) also were in the North a peak and in the South a peak named Kailāsa and on the East a river flowing by a peak known as Trikūṭa (Sarga 27, Śloka 14, 15, 16 and 27).” (Of Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa).

As Laṅkā was built on the midmost peak of the Trikūṭa mountain in an island in the sea, Mr. Kibe argues “That this Prasravaṇa Mountain otherwise known as Malaya, was in sight of Vindhya at the foot of which was the sea, which divided Laṅkā from the Vindhya range in a valley of which was Kiṣ-kindhā is borne out by Sarga 53.....” and identifying this sea with the river (a rivulet in fact) flowing by Trikūṭa referred to above, says that the river was exaggerated by poetic imagination into a sea. A mighty ocean dwarfed into a mudless streamlet !!

Now, “Trikūṭa” simply means “three-peaked.” To the poet any three-peaked mountain is a Trikūṭa. But every Trikūṭa cannot be credited with the city of Laṅkā !

THE GODĀVARĪ

It is surprising that Mr. Kibe, the ardent and pains-taking scholar he is, ignores the Godāvarī associated with Pañcavaṇī from which, Prasravaṇa hill associated with the Vindhya mountain was not far. Having repaired in person to the river Godāvarī, Rāma says “I can range this Mandākinī, this Janasthāna and this Prasravaṇa hill if I can find Sītā there.” They were so near. The Mandākinī is the Godāvarī. (Āraṇya K. lxiv. Dutt's pp. 657-8).

Jaṭāyu says that Rāvaṇa "fled away with Sītā to the South-erly direction." This shows that the Godāvarī was to the South of Pañcavaṭī, Janasthāna, R̥ṣyamuka, Malaya, Kiṣkindhā, Prasravaṇa hill and the Mahendra mountain, the last one being nearest the sea. In other words, these were on the northern bank of the Godāvarī. Hanuman too says "And searching Vaidehī and ranging at the banks of the Godāvarī and forest-lands...Rāma met...Kavandha." (Yuddha K. cxxviii; Dutt's p. 1535).

The map of India does not show the Vindhya Range, where Mr. Kibe locates Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā, as extending as far as the bank of the Godāvarī. Yet Vālmiki mentions a Vindhya here!

THE VINDHYA MOUNTAIN

Assuming the physical impossibility of the Vindhya Range of Central India extending as far as the mouth of the Godāvarī, I am led to conjecture that the name "Vindhya" has its origin in "vintu" which means "a drop of water" and that the Vindhya mountain in the vicinity of the Northern bank of the Godāvarī, near Prasravaṇa hill in the Daṇḍaka forest was the mountain in which the rivulet in front of Rāma's abode in the Prasravaṇa hill its origin, i. e., the mountain from which drops of water trickled down and formed the mudless stream with which Mr. Kibe identifies the Ocean.

OTHER JOURNEYS TO AND FROM LAṅKĀ

The correctness of my conclusions as to the route followed by Rāvaṇa is confirmed by Vālmiki's accounts of other journeys to and from Laṅkā.

Rāma's journey to Laṅkā--Rāma's journey from Prasravaṇa hill to Setubandha (Rāmeśvaram) is given in Section 4 of the Yuddhakāṇḍa. Mr. Kibe doubts the authenticity of this lengthy chapter, and says that the meaning of certain Ślokaś is obscure. Vālmiki's treatment of the subject is as follows:—

Rāma's instructions as to the disposition of the army for the march.

Sugrīva's compliance.

Description of the actual march: upto where he says "And thus the enormous monkey host went on day and night. And all those monkeys, delighted, guided by Sugrīva, and taking delight in battle went on speedily. And they did not take rest even for a moment, desirous of rescuing Sītā." (Dutt's p. 1116).

Breaking the thread of the narrative, Vālmiki introduces a description of the SCENERY of Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra *where the march commenced*.

Vālmiki completes the narrative saying "Thereupon, *passing by* the mounts Sahya and Malaya and *arranging* their enormous host, they *by and by* reached the roaring deep. And descending therefrom, (Mahendra mountain) Rāma, the foremost of those who minister happiness unto all, accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva, entered the forest situate on the banks of the ocean. And reaching the expansive banks having rocks thereon and continually washed by the rising billows, Rāma spoke saying,— 'O Sugrīva we have arrived at the abode of Varuṇa...' " (Dutt's p. 1117-8), i. e., arrived at Setubandha.

The scenery after Mahendra is covered by "forest situate on the banks of the ocean."

The break does no doubt make the reference to Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra obscure but convention required a description of the scenery.

On foot did Rāma march with his army from Prasravaṇa hill to Rāmeśvaram. The journey was long. So is the chapter.

Rāma's Return Journey--After Setubandha the Puspaka arrived at Kiṣkindhā, Rṣyamuka and Janasthāna in the order named. The Godāvarī is mentioned after this. The party took leave of the River. For, the route followed thereafter was overland (Yuddha K. cxxv ff).

Two points deserve notice. One is the omission of Mahendra mountain and Prasravaṇa hill. Entering the mouth of the Godāvarī the boat made for Kiṣkindhā. The other is the statement "Thereupon Rāma said to the excellent car--'Do thou (now) go to Vaisravaṇa—I do permit thee.' Thereupon being thus commanded by Rāma, that excellent car, proceeding towards the north reached the abode of the Giver of wealth." (Yuddha K. cxxix; Dutt's p. 1540). This is a later interpolation. Kubera's Kailāsa was in Ceylon¹! South, not North.

Hanuman's Voyage to Laṅkā--Vālmiki gives the most vivid, complete and detailed description in this connection.¹

¹ I shall deal with these in my article on "The Fundamentals of Ancient Geography."

To state briefly, from Mahendra mountain Hanuman travelled by a sailing boat, passed through the Northern entrance of the Palk's Strait (water course), reached the Palk's Strait (Sagar, the Sapta Sagaram), reached Kṣāroḍa (lavaṇa toya) and touched Maināka (Nāka Tīvu, the modern Nayinā Tīvu). Again proceeding by boat reached Surasa (Jaffna Peninsula), travelled by land to the Southern coast of the peninsula, crossed the Jaffna Lagoon by boat, reached Sinhika (Ceylon). " Set out on the great road " (Sundara K. lviii ; Dutt's p. 1067) and traversing the island reached its Southern coast and then entered Laṅkāpuri, having crossed the sea. (Āraṇya K. i, ii).

Hanuman's Return Journey—Leaving Laṅkāpuri, " ascended Aristha " (Ceylon) " went from the south to the north, " entered a boat and " began to swim on the ocean of the firmament " (the Jaffna Lagoon being the Sea of Svarga : Svarga Jaffna), crossing which, " the Wind-god's son went on in the sky " (Svarga, Surasa) and " again held his course along the mid-ocean " (the Palk's Strait). " And touching Maināka—foremost of mountains—that one endowed with prowess proceeded amain like an iron dart let go from a string " and reached Mahendra mountain. (Āraṇya K. lvi, lvii).

Note—Being in the midst of the Indian Ocean, the Palk's Strait is called the " mid-ocean. "

CONCLUSION

The several descriptions of the journeys to and from Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā given by Vālmiki are geographically correct, consistent and clear. Poetical expressions and conventional embellishments should not be allowed to mislead us.

Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was not on the Vindhya Range but on an island in the midst of the sea off the Southern or South-eastern coast of the Island of Ceylon.

MAHĀBHĀRATA NOTES

BY

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA, M.A.

वारणौ षट्त्रिंशद्वयनौ

The reference occurs in the Virāṭa-parvan 12. 20 (Critical Edition) in the contest of Bhīma with a wrestler. The age of sixty years for a full-grown elephant had been accepted as a literary convention in the centuries before christ. The Jātakas make repeated reference to the *saṭṭhi-hāyana kuñjara*, robust and strong, the best of its class, e. g.

पेसेथ कुञ्जरे दन्ती बलवन्ते सट्ठिहायने ।

महन्तु कुञ्जरा नगरं वेदेहेन सुमापितं ॥

Mahāummaga Jāt., vi, p. 448.

Also in the same place,

आरुह्य पवरं नागं बलवन्तं सट्ठिहायनं ।

Kaṭṭilya says that an elephant 25 years old is of the lowest class, 30 years old of middle class, and 40 years old of the best class, (Bk. I, ch. 31). The ideal age of an elephant for poetic convention would thus be after 40, and it was taken to be 60. We have retained a Hindi idiom which supports the above.

(साठा पाठा) *Pāṭhā* means a full-grown animal, generally an elephant ; and *sāṭhā* means ' of sixty years. ' At sixty an elephant is full grown (Fallon's *Hindustani Dictionary*, p. 325).

2. द्वैप and वैयाघ्र

The words *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra* occur in Pāṇini, IV, 2.12. (According to this Sūtra, *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra* take *añ* suffix in the sense of ' a chariot covered with the skin of a *dvīpin* and a *vyāghra* respectively, the chariot so mounted being called *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra*.

In the Mahābharata, Sabhā-parvan, ch. 51, verse 34, we have a reference to chariots of the second kind :--

रथांश्च विविधाकाराज्जातरूपपरिष्कृतान् ।

हयैर्विनीतैः संपन्नान्वैयाघ्रपरिवारितान् ॥

The kings of the eastern countries brought as presents to Yudhiṣṭhira chariots mounted with tiger's skin. The most pro-

minent reference to *dvaipa-vaiyāghra rathas*, however, occurs in the Mahājanakajāṭaka, where the line,

दीपे अथोपि वेय्यग्घे सम्बालंकारस्सिते ।

is repeated about 18 times in two beautiful rhyming songs (Jāt. VI, pp. 48-50). The Vessantara Jātaka also records the gift of 700 such conveyances by that paragon of charity and the commentary there confirms the Pāṇinean meaning of these words, viz., *dīpi-camma-vyaggha-camma-parikkhitta* (Jāt. VI, pp. 503-504). That these kinds of covering material were used in ancient Indian upholstery is also borne out by another reference in the Mahābhārata where the scabbard of Bhīmasena is called *vaiyāghra-kośa* (Virāṭa-parvan, 38, 30, 55 Critical Edition). Those of Nakula and Sahadeva are called *Pāñcanakha-kośa* and *gavya-kośa* respectively (ibid., verses 57, 58), showing that the skins of the cow and the *pañcanakha* animals were also used for mounting purposes.

3. उपसृताः

In the Vulgate text, of the Vana-parvan (in the ghoṣa-yātrā Section), occur, the following Ślokas :--

ददर्श स तदा गावः शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ।

अङ्कैर्लक्षैश्च ताः सर्वा लक्षयामास पार्थिवः ॥

अङ्कयामास वत्सांश्च जज्ञे चोपसृतांस्त्वपि ।

बालवत्सांश्च या गावः कालयामास ता अपि ॥

ch. 240, 4-5.

Here the reading चोपसृतांस्त्वपि in pāda 2 of verse 5 seems to be faulty. The evidence of the manuscripts must of course be examined, but I would tentatively suggest to read चोपसृतास्त्वपि. i. e. *upsr̥tāḥ* instead of *upsr̥tān*. *Uṇpasr̥tāḥ* is accusative plural form of the feminine *upasr̥tā*, meaning the young heifers in puberty which had been crossed with bulls. Duryodhana causes a census of the cattle population to be taken with branding and numbering. Three classes of animal-heads are mentioned, viz., young calves (*vatsān*), the crossed heifers (*upasr̥tāḥ*), and the cows which had recently calved (*bāla-vatsāḥ*). *Uṇpasr̥tān* in the masculine gender is meaningless here. Pāṇini enjoins the use of the root *upa*+*sr̥* specially in connection with that stage in the life-story of a cow when she is mature for conception as in उपसर्ग्य काल्या प्रजने III. I. 104; and also प्रजने सतैः III. 3. 71. *Uṇpa*-

saryā is the epithet for the cow before her covering and *upasṛtā* after she has conceived.

4. हरण

The word *harana* in a technical sense occurs in Pāṇini VI. 2. 65, सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे. In this sūtra *dharmya* means 'customary' due; *harana* was one of such *dharmya* dues. The Kāśikā translates *harana* in the illustration *vāḍava-harana* as follows:--

वडवाया अयं वडवः। तस्य बीजनिषेकादुत्तरकालं शरीरपुष्ट्यर्थं यहीयते
हरणमिति तदुच्यते।

i. e., *harana* is the name of the dues that are given in order to strengthen a horse after he has covered a mare. Such dues may be in kind or cash, and their presentation by the owner of the mare to the stud horse is required to compensate for the loss of his energy in breeding.

The Mahābhārata refers to *harana* in a sense which, though analogous, is not strictly confined to the charges for covering a mare. The Parvasaṁgraha-parvan LV. 38, 93, speaks of Kṛṣṇa's going with presents for Subhadrā's dowry as *harana-hārikam*. Curiously the commentator Arjunamiśra condemns as faulty the very reading which was the correct one:--

हरणहारिकमित्यपवादः।

(Critical Edition, Ādi., p. 36).

Harana in a wider sense denoted dowry or nuptial presents, in money or goods which a woman brought to her husband in marriage.

The Kāśikā's illustration on Pāṇini VI. 2. 65, is quite in order, and for the matter of that may have been handed down as a *mūrdhābhiṣikta* illustration from antiquity, but what we object to is the narrowing down of the meaning of *harana* in the light of the explanation given in the Kāśikā. We feel rather disposed to fall in with the more general sense recorded in the Mahābhārata, viz., a marriage-gift.

5. The Story of Yavakṛita.

The Yavakṛita episode occurs in the Mahābhārata Vana-parvan, ch. 133-38, and occupies 117 verses in the Vulgate edition. The sage Lomaśa recounts the story to Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his visit to the hermitage of Raibhya on the bank of the Ganges near Kanakhala. Yavakṛita is the son of the

sage Bharadvāja, and is therefore called Bhāradvāja by his gotra name, and also Yavakārī from a synonym of his proper name. The story in short relates to the performance of austerities by Yavakṛita in order to get mastery over the entire meaning of the Vedas by the method of *tapas*, as against the procedure of studying the same from a teacher. He is dissuaded by Indra from persisting in this impossible attempt, because the overflowing stream of Vedic knowledge cannot be thus controlled. Indra impresses on the mind of Yavakṛita the futility of his task by throwing a handful of sand every day in the Ganges to bridge her course at the place where Yavakṛita went to bathe. Yavakṛita interrogated Indra, who was disguised as an old Brāhmaṇa as to what he meant, and on being enlightened about his impossible purpose he realised his own folly, and growing wiser desisted from his *tapas*. He was of course rewarded in the sequel, through Indra's grace, by receiving the much-coveted Vedic lore, the privilege being extended also to his father Bharadvāja. Up to this stage the story runs with a smooth and dignified course partaking of the nature of those Vedic *upākhyānas* with which we are made familiar in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. The matter is disposed of in less than 30 Ślokas. The rest of the story, extending to about three-fourths of its entire extent, concerns with the disgraceful antics of the now swollen-headed Yavakṛita, who misconducts himself with the daughter-in-law of his father's friend Raibhya, who punished him by creating a Kṛtyā and a Rākṣasa to kill him. Bharadvāja laments his son's death, curses in turn Raibhya that he would lose his life at the hands of his own elder son, and himself ascends on the funeral pyre.

The story then narrates how Raibhya's elder son Parāvasu killed his father by mistake, how the sin of his *ībrahama-vadhyū* was washed off by his younger brother Arvāvasu, and how this Arvāvasu by the dint of his virtue ultimately redeemed to life the three deceased ones.

Special interest attaches to this story as the Yavakṛitākhyāna is referred to in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. On Pāṇini, IV, 2, 60, under the context of तद्वीते तद्वेद, there is a Vārttika,

आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेष्वथ उग्र वक्तव्यः ।

As examples of *ākhyānas*, Patañjali quotes :—

यावक्रीतिकः प्रैयंगविकः यायातिकः ।

(Ed. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 284).

Here at least two of the stories can be identified with legends in the Mahābhārata. The Yayāti *upākhyāna* is a well-known Bhārgava legend. It may be noted here that the Kāśikā quoting most probably a *mūrdhābhīṣikta* illustration on Pāṇini VI. 2. 103

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ।

refers to पूर्वयायातम् and अपरयायातम्, thus throwing light on the structure of the Yayāti legend. It also refers to पूर्वधिरामम्, i. e. the earlier half of Paraśurāma legend. The Yavakṛita story is quoted above. It is proved that at least in the 2nd century B.C. the Yavakṛita-legend was read and studied as a separate entity, and not merely as a part of the Mahābhārata, i. e. its individual existence was not lost in the great bulk of the Epic. In the longer version of the Parvasaṃgraha-parvan (Critical Edition, Ādi., p. 47) this story is also included :

यवक्रीतस्य चाख्यानं रैभ्यस्य च महात्मनः ।

Its incorporation in the Gerat Epic may have taken place after the compilation of the original Parvasaṃgraha chapter.

It may also be added that the first of the Yavakṛita legend is in very close agreement with the Vedic story of Indra and Bhāradvāja given in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and bearing on the identical theme of the infinity of Vedic knowledge and the futility of undergoing physical rigours for its attainment. The Raibhya episode may have been engrafted on the simple Bhāradvāja legend of pure Vedic texture.

A NOTE ON UTAKE GOVINDA

BY

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M.O.L.,
Adyar Library.

In the Descriptive Catalogue of the Tanjore Library, Vol. VIII, p. 3579, there is described a Ms. of the Gopālalīlārnava-bhāṇa, with the following remark on its author Utake Govinda.

“Govinda is the author of this Bhāṇa. He tells us that he is the son of Raṅgācārya and Sarasvatī. The appellation Utake seems to suggest that the author might have been a Maharāṭha Brahmin but it is not certain. The date, etc., of the author is not known. The work is not available in print.”

The existence of another of this author's works, namely Viraktimuktāvalī in Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastriar's collection, has recently been brought to my notice by Mr. K. Ramachandra Sarma. This consists of 108 verses (including the four introductory ones numbered separately) beginning as below :

श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

यस्येच्छासमकाल एव जगतः सृष्टिः स्थितिश्चाप्ययः

यस्सच्चिन्मखदेहवाँश्च रमते लक्ष्म्या स्वयंलिलया ।

यश्चान्ते स्मृतमात्र एव हि भवागाधाम्बुधेरुद्धर-
त्युद्धीतो निगमागमैरवतु मां श्रीमान्स नारायणः ॥ १ ॥

यस्यापाङ्गनिरीक्षणासृतधुनीपूरेण संवर्धिता

मच्चित्ते कवितालता नवरसाधारेः फलैः शोभते ।

रङ्गाचार्यमहं गुरुं स्वपितरं नत्वा तमम्बां सती-
मार्यो तां च सरस्वतीं भवपरिक्लेशान्निजान्वर्णये ॥ २ ॥

देवं गुरुं च युगपन्नत्वा श्रीवासुदेवपदवाच्यम् ।

ग्रथये विरक्तिमुक्तावलं छुदे सास्तु सुमनसां रुचिरा ॥ ३ ॥

नत्वा शिरसा कौलगिरिगुनाथाचार्यदेशिकपदाब्जम् ।

स्वकृतं हि निवेदयतः प्रायश्चित्तं ममास्तु हरिपदयोः ॥ ४ ॥

अज्ञानोऽग्निदाघतप्तहृदयः पातुं सुविद्यापय-

स्त्वृष्णालोलमना भ्रमन्दिशि दिशि आन्तो भ्रंशं संभृतः ।

गेहारण्यमथ स्ववृक्षगहनं तत्रापि चिन्तादवा-

क्रान्तोऽहं चकितो मृगो घनमिव घ्यायामि कृष्णं हृदि ॥ १ ॥

In the concluding verses of the work, extracted below, the author says that he belongs to Tanjore, that he is the son of Raṅgācārya and Sarasvatī and the disciple of Kaulagi Vāsudeva, and that he composed this work in the Grīṣma of Dundubhi corresponding to Kali 4963, i. e. A. D. 1862. He is thus a very recent author.

ब्रह्माद्यान्विबुधानृषीन्भृगुसुखान्पूज्यान्पितृन्मद्गुरुन्

मान्यान्बन्धुजनान्द्विजानपि तथा स्तौम्यन्वहं नोमि च ।

कृत्वानुग्रहमत्र ये सकरुणा मां श्रेयसायोजय-
 नन्तेऽमुत्र च तेऽर्थयन्त्यथ हरिं निःश्रेयसायापि मे ॥ १०१ ॥
 रङ्गाचार्यतनुभवेषु गणने यो जन्मतो मध्यमः
 सा प्रासूत सरस्वती यमुटके गोविन्दनामा च यः ।
 श्रीमत्कौलगिवासुदेवचरणा यस्मिन्कृतानुग्रहा-
 स्तेनेयं रचितार्पिता हरिपदे वैराग्यमुक्तावलिः ॥ १०२ ॥
 न सुवर्णग्रथितेयं न महार्हपदार्थसुचिरनिर्वर्ण्यं ।
 तदपि च मुक्तावलिरिति हरिपदभागिति भवेत्सुजनमान्या ॥ १०३ ॥
 चोले तञ्जपुरस्थेन सेयं मुक्तावलिः शुभा ।
 ग्रथिता दुन्दुभौ ग्रीष्मे कलिमाने गते धवे ॥ १०४ ॥
 इति श्रीउटकेरङ्गाचार्यसुतगोविन्दाचार्यविरचिता विरक्तिमुक्तावलिः
 संपूर्णा ॥

After this the scribe adds the following regarding the date of the author's death.

रुधिरौदारिण्यधिसृतिविमनोयोगेन निजसुखं प्राप्ता ।
 चैत्रे सितसप्तम्यां गोविन्दाचार्या हरेः पदं याताः ॥ १ ॥

According to this statement Uṭake Govinda died a year after he wrote the Viraktimuktāvalī. On his identity compare also the following from the Gopālalīlārṇava :

तातो यस्य दिगन्तविश्रुतयशाः श्रीरङ्गवर्याभिघो
 माता यस्य सरस्वती सुचरिता साध्वीनुतेतादृशोः ।
 पित्रोः सुनुषु च त्रिषु प्रियतरो योऽपि स्वयं मध्यमः
 किं वानागत एष ते श्रुतिपथं गोविन्दनामा कविः ।

(Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. VIII, p. 3878)

In his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, 699 foot-note 11 and p. 703, foot-note 4, Dr. Krishnamachariar identifies our author with Govinda, the author of Vinatānandavyāyoga. The identification is incorrect. The latter "was born in the town of Nandapura on the Godāvarī and settled later on in Benares. His father was Śeṣāyājñeśvara otherwise known as Anantasuta."

(Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. VIII, p. 3644).

Compare the following extract on p. 3642 of the Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue, vol. VIII, from the latter's work :

तदेतद्गोदावरीपरिसरप्रसिद्धनन्दिपुरभुवामधिगतसकलविद्यानां शेषपदवी-
 जुषामनूचानपराशरयज्वनां वंश्येन विश्वविश्रुतगुणग्रामेण वाराणसीवास्तव्येन
 कविना—

शेषीकं कुलदैवतं नरहरिं भीमाम्बिकां मातरं
 ख्यातानन्तसुतं प्रणम्य पितरं श्रीशेषयज्ञेश्वरम् ।
 श्रीविष्णुं नवमं च गोत्रदशमौ यः प्राप शेषाभिधां
 गोविन्देन कृतश्रमेण रचिते प्रीत्य सतां रूपकम् ।

Aufrecht in his C. C., p. 168, gives the Vyāyoga rightly under the name of Govinda Śeṣa.

REVIEWS

EXCAVATIONS AT HARAPPA, being an account of Archaeological excavations carried at Harappa between the years 1920-21 and 1933-34. By Madho Swarup Vats, M.A., Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India: in two volumes with plans and plates; Vol. I, pp. 488, Vol. II, 139 plates. Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi, Price, Rs. 50-6 (for both the volumes).

That Harappa is a place of pre-historic site was well-known to antiquarians since the discovery of a pictographic seal at the place more than 70 years ago by General Sir A. Cunningham. Curiously enough it did not attract the attention either of the Archaeological department or of ancient Indian historians till excavations were begun at the place in the season of 1920-21. The prehistoric site at Mohenjo-Daro was discovered two years later; but it is better known to the public because five sumptuous volumes describing the excavations there and the civilisation disclosed by them were published, the first three by Sir John Marshall in 1931 and the last two by Dr. E. J. H. Mackay in 1938. It is rather unfortunate that an authoritative and continuous account of the Harappa excavations and civilisation should have seen the light of the day nearly twenty years after the excavations were started. Prompter publications would undoubtedly increase the public interest in the achievements of the Archaeological Department.

The present two volumes are worthy compliments of the five tomes on Mohenjo-Daro published earlier. They are very nicely brought out; the printing is satisfactory and the plates are fine. The style is adequate for the subject and the author shows a commendable mastery of the themes he is dealing with. From the technical point of view the description of the excavations and the finds leaves nothing to be desired. The description and dimensions of the finds are correctly given and their find-spots are accurately recorded.

The account of the Harappa excavations as given in the present volumes throws a lot of new light on ancient Indian civilisation. Sir John Marshall had opined that the probable period

of the Mohenjo-Daro Civilisation would be c. 2750 to c. 3250. Dr. Mackay felt that this dating was about 750 years too early; he was inclined to place Mohenjo-Daro civilisation between 2500 B. C. and 2200 B. C. Our author accepts the view of Marshall, but maintains that the earliest stratum at Harappa would be about a couple of centuries earlier than that at Mohenjo-Daro. His argument is based upon the peculiarly small size of the seals, which were not found at all in Mohenjo-Daro, and which were found confined only to lower stratum at Harappa. This argument has some probative value, but the real problem of the date of the civilisation can be solved only when the seals are deciphered or found in large numbers in the known strata of other civilisations. There does not seem to be much chance of our getting any decisive clue at Harappa or Mohenjo-Daro; for both these sites were abandoned for several centuries. In Harappa the superficial Gupta stratum was divided from the pre-historic stratum only by about three or four feet. The depth between the historic and prehistoric strata at Mohenjo-Daro was even less. There does not therefore appear to be much chance of our finding a bilingual inscription at either site.

Apart from a big public granary, very few remnants of buildings were discovered in Harappa excavations. This was quite natural; for more than sixty years the Railway and Public Works Department were vying with each other in carrying away the inexhaustible stock of bricks in its debris. The villagers of modern Harappa did not feel the need of a brick kiln till the site of the old village was declared a protected area under the Ancient Monuments Protection Act.

The progress in the different branches of civilisation disclosed by Mr. Vats's excavations is indeed interesting. Gold and Silver were in use as early as c. 3000 B. C. Considerable skill had been acquired in metallurgy. It is now generally recognised that bronzes containing 8 to 11 per cent of tin are the most suitable when a combination of strength, elasticity, toughness and the ability to withstand shock are required. In Harappa celts, the proportion of tin generally does not exceed 11 per cent. People had also made good progress in bead-making; they could give a very nice glaze to them. Mr. H. C. Beck, who has contributed the chapter on beads in the volume, has drawn attention to some

striking points of contact between the Indus and the Mesopotamian Civilisations; he maintains that the rare and difficult process of manufacturing etched carnelians is not likely to have originated in more than one place, and that therefore, one of the civilisations would be the borrower in this connection. There are however a number of other points where the bead making in the two countries does not show any points of contacts. Mr. Beck thinks that the Indus and Mesopotamian civilisations probably met in a third one, not yet discovered, which acted as a filter, handing on some articles and characteristics and detaining others.

The skill in sculpture acquired by the Harappa people was fairly of a high order. Unfortunately not many specimens have been found, but some of those recovered show that the sculptors at Harappa could equal, if not excel, those of the classical Greece. In this connection a small statue of a male figure in the round is very remarkable (Plate LXXX, a-d). It is carved in red sand-stone and is only $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. Its beauty lies in the refined and wonderful modelling of its fleshy parts. As an example of anatomical precision it is indeed perfect and can bear comparison with the best examples of Greek art. Sir John Marshall observes that the unknown sculptors of the Indus civilisation had anticipated the Greek sculptors in some of the items of their technique. That the aesthetic element had been well developed at Harappa also becomes clear from the artistic head dress of women and the remarkable skill acquired in the art of painting as disclosed on some of its pottery.

The chapter on pre-historic cemetery would undoubtedly be regarded as the most important one in the present volume. It throws quite a flood of new light on the subject. An extensive cemetery like the one discovered by Mr. Vats at Harappa has not been so far unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Mr. Vats may well be congratulated upon his discovery. There seem to be two strata in this cemetery, an upper one where pot burials were the order of the day and a lower one where earth burials were in vogue. Mr. Vats thinks that what appear like two different strata may not really be separate ones; for the necessity of the case may have induced people to have a deeper pit for the simple burial than one for the pot burial. There is some force in this argument, but it is not quite convincing.

There is a general resemblance between the civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro and that of Harappa, but it is curious to note that there should have been a striking difference in the funeral rites and customs. At Mohenjo-Daro cremation was the order of the day, no cases of burials being known. At Harappa, on the other hand, burial was the order of the day, cases of cremation being very few and doubtful. At Harappa itself there were divergent practices about the disposal of the dead. In the lower stratum, where there are earth burials, we have sometimes complete burials and sometimes partial ones. In the latter case, it appears that the corpses were exposed for sometime to vultures or animals, and what remained later was subsequently interred. Numerous pot-burials have been so far discovered but save in the case of children, all are the cases of partial burials. The bodies of children, it appears, were not exposed, for the simple reason, as pointed out by Mr. Vats, that nothing of them would remain if they were exposed to vultures and animals. Curiously enough we find that the remains of children are placed in the embryonic position almost without exception. There is no funerary pottery associated with pot-burials, but we find it in connection with earth burials. Along with the body were buried a water pot (*kalaśa*), flask, sauce, and round and offering dishes. It is obvious that these pots were intended to be of use to the departed individual in his journey to or stay in the life to come. Sometimes, though rarely, we come across the dismembered body of a sheep or goat lying by the side of the remains of the dead person; it may be the body of an animal sacrificed at the time of the funeral.

In the case of pot burials, we find that usually pots about two feet high are used. It is clear that these pots would not have served the purpose of complete burials. The bodies were first exposed and what remained was subsequently consigned to these pots and buried. Usually only about the lower half of these pots is filled by the bones, the upper half being filled with soft percolated earth. Usually the remains of only one man are preserved in one pot, the exceptions being few.

Some of the burial urns are painted and these pictures throw interesting light on some of the post-mortem beliefs of the age. Unfortunately the painted pots are very few and fragmentary,

and so the interpretation of their paintings is a difficult matter. Mr. Vats however makes a few suggestions in this connection, which are very interesting and illuminating. The peacock figures very prominently in these paintings and very frequently, a therianthrope body is painted horizontally across its body. Mr. Vats suggests that this may be the *sūkṣma śarīra* of the dead man being carried by the peacock to the other world. Sometimes we see bovine animals and goats painted on the pots; and in their midst we have beaked human beings. Mr. Vats suggests that the bovine animals may be the *vaitaraṇī* and *anustaraṇī* cows of the Hindu mythology, and the goat the animal that was enjoined to be sacrificed at the time of cremation in the Vedic cremation ritual. This appears not improbable, but we have to note that the *Rgveda* has introduced the goat sacrifice not in connection with a burial, but in connection with the cremation, with a view that the skin of the goat may miraculously protect the body of the departed individual from the fury of the funeral fire. Mr. Vats merely points to the parallelisms between some of the Vedic practices and those prevailing at Harappa; he specifically observes that the connections or affinities between the Vedic Aryans and the cultures connected with the Harappa burials are not yet quite clear (p. 209).

The fact is that even among the Vedic Aryans a number of divergent practices prevailed as far as the disposal of the dead is concerned. In one place in the *Rgveda* there is the prayer that whatever part of the body of the dead man may have been smitten away by the black bird or by the ant or by the carnivorous animal may be restored back to him by god fire (X. 16. 6). This would clearly show that the bodies of the dead were exposed for some days before they were cremated, unless we assume that the prayer was intended for the body of a person lying for a long time on the battlefield, before it could be identified and cremated. The *Atharvaveda* refers to four ways of the disposal of the dead, burial, exposure, cremation and burial in a high mound (XVIII. 2. 34). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the burial mounds raised long after the death of individuals when their memory had died down. It distinguishes between the burial mounds of the Asuras and the Aryans: those of the former were round and those of the latter were four cornered. It further states that

the Asuras did not lay the remains directly on the earth, but put them in a pot (*camū*) before burying them (XIII 8. 1). The practice here attributed to the Asuras would fit well with the pot burials at Harappa. The *Rgveda* (X. 18. 10-13) also describes a burial; when the dead body is placed in the pit and is about to be entombed, the prayer is addressed: 'Oh Earth, heave up, do not press upon the dead man. Cover him gently and affectionately as a mother would cover her child on the lap by means of her upper garment.' Whitney thinks that this refers to a pot burial, and if so, it may refer to practices somewhat similar to those at Harappa. But there still will remain one important difference; the *Rgveda* does not presuppose an exposure before its burial above referred to; at Harappa, pot burials were invariably preceded by exposures. There is no doubt that the cemetery at Harappa, discovered by Mr. Vats supplies a lot of material for study to the anthropologist; it will take considerable time before all its mysteries are solved. In the meanwhile we may once more congratulate Mr. Vats on his excellent volumes on Harappa, and the Archaeological department on the excellent arrangements it has made for publishing them in an adequate and befitting manner.

A. S. Altekar

ŚRĪPATI'S ŚRĪKARA BHĀṢYA

A voluminous work, involving considerable labour and great expense, in two volumes, one of about 900 pages and another of nearly 575 pages but of unequal sizes, has been recently published under the auspices of the Mysore Lingayat Education Fund Association, Bangalore. It is edited by Mr. C. Hayavadan Rao, who, besides an erudite preface of 52 pages, has contributed an equally learned introduction covering the rest of the volume. The second is a commentary in Sanskrit on the Brahma Sūtras by Śrīpati Paṇḍitācārya of the Lingayat persuasion, who lived about 1400 A. D. The commentary is made in support of the Virāśaiva doctrine of faith and advocates Bhedābhedātma viśeṣādvaita, which is probably an attempt to effect a reconciliation between the two antagonistic views of Śaṅkara and Madhvācārya, who flourished in 788-820 A. D. and 1238 A. D. respectively.

Not only is it that the text of this commentary, which contains the philosophy of the great and influential community of Virāśaivas or Lingayats, as they are popularly called, because of their wearing the lingam, or phallus, on their body, has been published for the first time in Devanāgarī characters, but it is in fact the first completely published edition of the work. The volume 1 consists of the preface and introduction written by Mr. Hayavadan Rao, besides the list of contents. The second volume is devoted to the publication of the text of the Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras as well as the commentary of Śrīpati on them. An incomplete manuscript, it is learnt from the introduction, in Telugu script was published as far back as 1893 at Sikanderabad in the Nizam's State. It is reported to have been a work of much accuracy having been purged of errors committed by copyists by learned men. But it appears that only a portion of it is available at the Government Oriental Press Library at Mysore. Complete handwritten copies however exist at Devidi, Ganjam District. The present edition has, it appears, been prepared from a copy belonging to Shri Basavavadhya, B.A., B.L., of Bangalore. Apparently it was in the Telugu characters and from it the present

edition in Devanāgarī characters has been transliterated. The language of both is of course Sanskrit. It is stated in the introduction "the first press copy was prepared under the direct personal supervision of Rajasabhabhushan Dewan Bahadur Sir K. P. Puttana Chetty Kt., C.I.E., retired first councilor of the Mysore State" to whom "the idea of securing the manuscript, getting it critically examined and making it available to the public in proper form, has been entirely" due.

"The preface" in the words of Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyar a very competent critic of vedāntic studies generally, "is a masterly survey of modern trends of philosophic thought. It really deserves to be an original contribution to it. As a separate pamphlet, it will take its rank along with the writings of any modern philosopher—Eastern or Western". The introduction too is a monument of the labour, learning and devotion to the subject of the Editor. It is an encyclopaedic history of the numerous—some of them little known yet remarkable—commentators, belonging to different schools of thoughts on the Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras, which form a principal part of the most prominent and foundation works on Hindu Philosophy. The survey begins with writers, prior to Śaṅkara and is brought to the 17th century writers. These doctrines are entirely, yet succinctly described. Besides in the latter $\frac{3}{4}$ portion it contains a full exposition of the commentary and faith of Śrīkara, in its proper setting. This volume is thus indispensable to any student of Indian philosophy, with special emphasis on the noble doctrine of Viraśaivas, which as expounded by Śrīkara, anticipates in the philosophic sphere, the relativity theory of Dr. Enstien in the physical world.

It is not surprising that in such a big work as this introduction, there should be room for divergence of opinion. To take an instance; quite a disproportionate space has been allotted to an ordinary commentator, who except for his name, called Suka, is a mere imitator of Ānanda-tīrtha of three or more centuries earlier, although the former has the merit of differing from the latter in respect of the kind of Dvaita doctrine. Thus "though Suka adopts Bheda throughout, he is careful to avoid anything approaching Ānanda-tīrtha's theory of *tārtamya bheda* as among jīvas." Ānanda-tīrtha holds to *pañca bhedas*, which are

essential to his system. "Suka however accepts only *jīveśa bheda* and *jīva prakṛti bheda*." Moreover much looseness is shown in fixing the date of Suka. In one place it is definitely fixed as at least the 16th century A. D. In another place Vijaya-dhvaja is said to have lived "about" the 16th century and "Suka, who follows his methodology, must be ascribed to a date posterior to him—say by about a century. i. e. the 17th century." Moreover had both these discussions been in juxtaposition, it would have been less confusing to the reader to know the mind of the editor.

In this connection, however, the editor has rendered a service to the cause of learning by showing how the different Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa have been arranged by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Ānanda-tīrtha, Nimbārka and Vallabha as compared with the arrangement adopted by Suka. The Editor also explains the special features causing this divergence in arrangement, as the reason for rearrangement.

The learned editor in nearly 700 pages of this big sized volumes has exhaustively dealt with and explained the defects, short comings, virtues and value of Śrīpati's Bhāṣya. No summary of it will give an adequate conception of this unique doctrine; it will suffer by such a process, since as usual the author has followed the custom of commentators in demonstrating how and arguing why he differs from them and what are the special merits of his theory.

It is this exhaustive and learned exposition in the introduction which has been commended by learned scholars like M. M. Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A., Sir P. S. Shivaswami Iyar and M. M. Prof. S. Kupaswami Sastry, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), especially the last, who has spoken of both the volumes; the former two confine themselves to the first volume only. It is a pity that there is no errata to Volume 1. To take one instance of its necessity reference may be made to the description of Śrīpati's theory as Bhedaḥbhedaṭmaka viśiṣṭādvaita at p. 221 and at page 590 as Bhedaḥbhedaṭmaka viśeṣādvaita. It is necessary to know what exactly the Editor holds as correct. Similarly at p. 708, the following is written "Spinoza (1632-1677) was also largely influenced by Descartes (1596-1650) and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1619) who were both his contemporaries, and by the wri-

tings of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) who had died just when he was born." Did not Hobbes die before him also ? The volumes, however, are embellished by many useful appendices.

Every reader of the second volume of this voluminous work (each volume is priced at Rs. 8) will wish that what has been said of the first volume could be said of the second. Unfortunately it contains numerous errors, which containing as they do grammatical mistakes, show carelessness and even want of knowledge of Sanskrit, which is the language of the work. I append in enclosure number 1 a list of such mistakes. They have been spotted at random and there are so many mistakes even on a single page. What is more remarkable is that even in the errata pages what have been shown as corrections are themselves mistakes. E. G. at p. 263 line 17, निरसनाथ has been wrongly corrected as निरासनाथ and at p. 568, 7th parīṣiṣṭa यत्तन्देश्यो which is correct, is corrected as यत्तन्देश्यो. That those corrections are not printer's mistakes may be judged from the fact that there are other mistakes in the text which show want of proper acquaintance of the language on the part of the Editors. Moreover Mr. C. Hayavadan Rao, the Chief Editor has contributed to this volume, a preface in Sanskrit which contains grammatical errors in almost every line of it. For comparison's sake I append as enclosure 2 a copy of this preface as printed in the volume and below it as it should be in proper Sanskrit. It is a matter of regret that the excellence of the work should be so disfigured ; only compelled by a sense of duty this criticism has been made. The outward appearance of the volumes leaves nothing to be desired and the type used is clear and distinct. I am indebted to Pandit Laxmanshastri Murgudkar, the learned head of the Sanskrit Academy, maintained by the Ichalkaranji State, for collecting the mistakes in Sanskrit.

क्रमाङ्क	पृ.	प.	अशुद्ध	शुद्ध
१	४२१	१	सर्वा° मत्याधि°	मत्याधि°
२	"	४	किंच नानन्नं	किंचनानन्नं
३	"	५	नुमतिः । प्राण	नुमतिः प्राण (रेघ नको)
४	"	७	प्रत्यावायंच श्रवणाच्च	प्रत्यावायश्रयणाच्च
५	"	९	प्रप्ते तत्रो°	प्राप्तं तत्रो°
६	"	१२	उषस्तः	उषस्तिः
७	"	१३	ग्रामेव सन्ननश°	ग्रामेवसन्ननश
८	"	१४	खादयन्तं	खादन्तं
९	"	१५	चेभ्योनोच्छि°	चेभ्योनोच्छि°
१०	"	१६	गृह्यानुपा	गृह्यानुपा
११	"	१८	माउदपा°	म उदपान
१२	"	१८	कुल्माषा खादनेस्वस्य	कुल्माषाखादने स्वस्य
१३	"	२०	पन्नस्थाने वेभ्योच्छि	पन्नस्थानेवेभ्योच्छि
१४	"	२०-२१	च्छिष्टभूतान्नात्	च्छिष्टान्नभूतान्
१५	"	२२	सर्वान्नत्वं	सर्वान्नत्वं
१६	"	२८	ग्रन्थिवार्यते	ग्रन्थिर्वार्यते
१७	"	३१	सर्वान्नानत्वं	सर्वान्नानत्वं
१८	"	"	णैकान्ते	णैकान्तं-(न्तेन)इतिवा
१९	"	३३	अपिस्मर्यते	अपिच स्मर्यते
२०	४२२	४	विधते	लिप्यते
२१	"	९	विदौमन्येषांच	विदामन्येषां च
२२	"	१२	भवानीति	भवानीति
२३	५३	२२	ब्रुत्सर्ज इति	ब्रु सृजा इति
२४	९१	८	संज्ञिक	संज्ञक
२५	१५९	३१	स्समानस्स	स्स समानस्स
२६	"	"	संचरन्तीति	संचरतीति
२७	१७१	२०	प्राणावस्थ विशेषत्वान्	प्राणावस्थाविशेषत्वान्
२८	२०६	७-८	गृही(त्वा)ता	ग्रहीता
२९	२२०	९	जातीयानि	जातीयानि
३०	२२९	२२	नच । निर-	नच निराधि
३१	"	२३	दधिष्ठाना पारमार्थ्येपि	दधिष्ठानापार- -मार्थ्येकेऽपि

क्रमाङ्क	पृ.	प.	अशुद्ध	शुद्ध
३२	२५७	१५	स्यामः	स्याम
३३	"	"	प्रजाये महीति	प्रजायेमहीति
३४	२८५	१७	सो यः	सोऽयं
३५	३१५	२०	जीवो शिवो	जीवः शिवो
३६	३७१	१९	औपसदवयथा । औप औपयदवत् । यथा औप	
३७	"	१४	(टीप वाचणसारखी आहे)	
३८	२६३	१७	येथें मुळांत " निरमनार्थ " शुद्ध असलेलें अशुद्ध	
			" निरासनार्थ " असें शुद्धिपत्रांत शुद्ध केलें आहे.	
३९	५६८	७	(पारिशिष्ट) यच्छन्देभ्यो यच्छन्दोभ्यो	
४०	"	१९	संपूर्ण पंक्ती वाचणें जरूर आहे.	
			पारिशिष्टच	
४१	५५९	२	कृत अधिकरणानि	कृतानि अधिकरणा °
४२	"	३	वर्तन्ति	वर्तन्ते
४३	५३७	१५	गोगलीवर्ध	गोबलीवर्द
४४	५१०	३	संपूर्ण पंक्ति पाहणें.	
४५	५३७	२	दाहृतं न्याया	दाहृतन्याया
४६	४९९	३३	अधा क्षमा	अधः क्षमा
४७	५००	९	अनावृत्तिशब्दाधिकरणं	अनावृत्तिशब्दाधिकरणं
४८	४९५	२९		
४९	५००	१३	षडाधिक	षडाधिक
५०	४८	९	सदैवसौम्य हें शुद्ध असून " सदैवसौम्य " असें	
			शुद्ध केलें आहे.	

श्री

द्वितीयभागे प्रास्थितस्यास्य श्रीकरभाष्यस्य प्रस्तावना

मूलमशुद्धं

श्रीमद्भिः श्रीपति पण्डिताचार्यैः प्रणीतं श्रीकरभाष्याख्य ब्रह्ममीमांसा-वेदान्तसूत्रार्थप्रकाशिक मूलग्रन्थान् अस्मिन्द्वितीय भागे समाविष्टितम् ॥ अध्ये-तृणां-पठनकारिणां-पाठकानां च भाष्येऽस्मिन्नन्तर्गृहीत बहुवाभिः परिशिष्टैः अस्य ग्रन्थस्य परिशीलने पठने च तेषामत्यन्तोपकारिका भवितुमर्हतीति संप्रत्याशा-विष्टामः ॥ केचिद्भिः व्याख्यातृभिः प्रमुखैः कृत अधिकरणादि विभागव्यत्या-सरीया परामर्शने तेषां परस्पर सिद्धान्त व्यत्यासोऽपि अवग्राहयितुं शक्यमिति तेषां चतुर्थ-पंचम-षष्ठ-परिशिष्टेषु सविशेषाभिनिवेशो सावधावधानतया अभ्यर्तितः

शुद्धं विपरिणामितम्

श्रीमद्भिः श्रीपतिपण्डिताचार्यैः प्रणीतः ब्रह्ममीमांसा वेदान्तसूत्रार्थ प्रका-शकः श्रीकरभाष्याख्यो मूलग्रन्थोऽस्मिन्द्वितीयभागे प्रकाश्यते । अत्र समावेशितै-र्बहुभिः परिशिष्टैरयं ग्रन्थोऽध्येतृणामध्यापकानां च परिशीलने पठनपाठनकर्मणि चात्यन्तापकारका भवितुमर्हतीति संप्रत्याशास्महे । कौञ्चित् व्याख्यातृप्रमुखैः कृतया अधिकारणादिविभागवत्यासरीत्या परामर्शने तेषां परस्परसिद्धान्त-व्यत्यासोऽपि अवबोधयितुं शक्य इति तेषां चतुर्थ-पंचम-षष्ठ-परिशिष्टेषु साव-धानतया सविशेषाभिनिवेशः कृतः ॥

KRISHNA AND HIS SONG : D. S. SARMA, M.A., International Book House, Bombay, 1940, pp. 93, Re 1-8.

This is a collection of nine small articles which appeared in the *Aryan Path* from January to September, 1940. The author has already to his credit a couple of books on Hinduism and Indian Culture, and two books on the *Bhagavadgītā*. He writes well and to the point; and what is worth mention, in spite of the vast and daily increasing literature on the *Bhagavadgītā*, he seems to have a fresh point or two to make. In the first paper he pleads for the recognition of the *Gītā* as primarily a poem, and only secondarily, if you will, as representing a historical or philosophical truth. We disapprove of this method of disarming criticism. We have always pleaded for the study of a work in its actual historical setting, so far as this is ascertainable; and philosophy can have an appeal to the emotion as truly as poetry. The author's remark in the second paper (p.21) that the "spiritual message [of all Scriptures] is inevitably covered with the husk of political, social and scientific ideas of their times" comes nearer the truth, although we are not prepared to regard the Sāṃkhya philosophy in the *Gītā*—at any rate its cardinal tenet—as mere "husk".

The question whether the *Bhagavadgītā* teaches *Karmayoga* or *Jñānayoga* or *Bhaktiyoga*, which has always excited live interest amongst Indian commentators and expositors, has been answered by the author, in the next paper, in the only correct way in which it has to be answered; it is not any one of these exclusively, but all of them collectively. Lokamanya Tilak, in his *Gītārahasya* wanted to propound the same conclusion, although some of his followers seem to be seeking to unduly emphasise the "*Karmayoga*" element, thereby making the Poem "substitute Humanity for God" as Mr. Sharma happily phrases it.

The next paper (chapter) is entitled: Dharma: Mechanical and Organic. The author holds that Arjuna had a mechanical conception of Dharma as consisting of a set of fixed, unalterable rules imposed by an external authority. As opposed to it is

Kṛṣṇa's conception of the Dharma as a constantly growing organism, ever adjusting its means to its end, which is fellowship with God. We fail to see the application of this to the immediate problem of the Gītā, which is fighting with elders and kinsmen. That the fight is according to the Kṣātriya code of conduct as laid down in the Śāstras, which must guide us in all cases of doubt, is not Arjuna's contention, but Kṛṣṇa's final teaching, even assuming that Kṛṣṇa is here "thinking of an ideal society in which the division of classes is based on character and profession" (p. 47). Mr. Sharma has not succeeded in telling us what is the precise reply of Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna's question. Surely it cannot be that Arjuna, by his inner nature, is made for fight and must fight, or—as Śaṅkarācārya would have said—that he was not the proper *adhikārin* for non-activism or Samnyāsa. Arguing on such lines, even Kṛṣṇa himself (as a Kṣātriya) is, as he himself readily confesses, in no better boat! When Mr. Sharma gravely tells us that the "advocacy of non-violence as a substitute for war is reserved for future incarnations"—meaning probably the incarnation of Gotama the Buddha and Mahātmā Gandhi—he fails to see that non-violence in thought is of far more consequence than non-violence in action (cf. BG., ii. 38); and that Bhīṣma can be killed "non-violently" in the same way as one can "non-violently" administer injection to a suffering calf. We think that Kṛṣṇa's main emphasis is on the mood-of-equipoise (*samatva-buddhi*). Given that, Kṛṣṇa does not seem to be yearning for an age when all wars would cease and when God would have no occasion to punish the men of demonic tendencies (*āśura-sampatti*).

We agree with the author when he says that the *Gītā* is not merely a book of ethics, but inculcates the doctrine of freedom through divine service. If action (*karman*) has a tendency to bind man to the Samsāra, the way to escape this bondage is not by renouncing action altogether, but by doing the action for which one is fitted—one's Svadharma—in a mood of equipoise (*samatva*), which can be cultivated through God's service (*Bhakti*). The difficulty always is to discover what is one's Svadharma, in other words, to find out what action would give the best expression to one's Svabhāva (natural aptitude and attainments). It is plain sailing so long as one has

no disposition or occasion to quarrel with the Svadharma as laid down by the Śāstra of the age. But once we give up our moorings in the Śāstra, trust in God and His loyal service is the only real haven of safety. The *Gītā* has prescribed a regular course of this service, and assures us that those that follow it steadily and unflinchingly will be saved. Nay, more. Each forward step will afford proofs that we are proceeding on the right lines, and that the end is attainable. Moreover, such a loving pursuit of God will have, in the majority of cases, the result of reconciling us to the prescribed duties of our existing station, seeing that all action is God's service. As the author clearly puts it (p. 66f.)—"We shall be judged not by the work we do, but by the way in which we do the work given to us. It is better to work in a small place with a large heart than to work in a large place with a small heart."

We are again at one with the author when he says (p. 68) that the Bhakti of the *Gītā* is not the excessive emotionalism of the later Bhakti schools. "Karma and Bhakti in the *Gītā* supplement each other". After an hour's communion with God we ought to rise as better men of action, and after an hour of intent, self-less action we ought to retire as better Bhaktas. And this God of our devotion has not to be sought in some one temple more fruitfully than in some other; in fact it may be a temple-less "ideal"; for, has it not been declared that there is divine presence in everything that is an "ideal" of its class (BG., x. 41)? It is in this sense that the loyal discharge of the duties of one's station is God's service (BG., xviii. 45f.), which He readily accepts and rewards.

In the concluding chapter the author tries to determine the place of *Lokasamgraha* (social service) in the ideal life laid down in the *Gītā*. Here too the author's views are such as would command general acceptance.

We warmly commend Mr. Sharma's little book to the thoughtful perusal of all earnest students of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is well written and adequately documented, and after finishing its reading we find ourselves in the mood of Oliver Twist: "wanting more!"

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER VIJAYA-
NAGAR. By T. V. Mahalingam, B.A. (Hons.) Madras
University Historical Series No. 15, University of Madras,
1940, pp. 1-476 and 7 illustrations. Price Rs. 7/- or 12s. 6d.

Vijayanagar is drawing the attention of scholars in an ever-increasing degree, and rightly it should, for if any period of mediaeval Indian history is well documented, it is the period of Vijayanagar hegemony in South India. These documents are varied and vast, consisting of notices of foreign travellers-Portuguese, English, Dutch and Persian; contemporary works on literature, religion, philosophy in Sanskrit, Tamil, Kanarese, and Telugu (including some works of Vijayanagar kings themselves); inscriptions in all these four languages and monuments, both spread over almost the whole of South India. It is impossible for a single scholar to use this entire material. Therefore, Mr. Mahalingam's work "is calculated to supplement from the Tamil side the social and administrative studies begun in the Third Dynasty" by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

Mr. Mahalingam has treated his subject in two parts. Part I consisting of 6 chapters is devoted to a detailed study of Central Government, Revenue, Administration, Law, Justice and Police, Military Organisation: Warfare and Diplomacy, Provincial Government and Local Government respectively. Each chapter is further divided into sections. The treatment of each theme is judicious. Some topics should have been more exhaustively dealt with, if the material for it was available. For instance, in the chapter on Central Government, a fuller and as far as possible, an exhaustive list of officers, mentioned in inscriptions would have not only enlightened us on the Vijayanagar 'officialdom,' but would have also enabled a student of comparative culture to find out how far the Vijayanagar administration contained ancient or traditional 'offices' and how far new office or offices with their designations in South Indian languages. For it is interesting to note that the *Mahāpradhāna* or *Pradhāna* of ancient records was called during the Vijayanagar period *Mahāśirah Pradhāni*. Like-

wise in Local Government the *Mahānāḍaprabhu* with its suffix *prabhu* reminds us of officers with similar suffixes who become common with the Śilāhāra and Yādava regime in the Deccan, a couple of centuries before Vijayanagar. What is meant is that such comparative studies would permit inferences as to the origin etc. of a culture complex, only when a thorough and exhaustive study is made of a given region at a given period. This might help us to decide how far Vijayanagar culture was Telugu, Kanarese or Tamil, if not help us actually in ascertaining the Telugu or Kanarese origin of the First Dynasty of Vijayanagar.

Other interesting parallels with earlier administrative units are *Sthala* (p. 199) and *Piṭhika* (p. 182). These may be compared with *Sthali* (which occurs in Valabhi epigraphs only) and *Peṭha* or *Pathaka* respectively. Possibly *Piṭhika* is derived from *Peṭha*, which occurs mostly in inscriptions from the Central Provinces, and the Deccan.

It might not be possible to determine exactly how many villages there were in the Vijayanagar empire, as Mr. Mahalingam says, possibly because all the inscriptions are not published in their *extenso*. But when they are, it would be worth-while tabulating all the place-names and identify them. This will add not only to our knowledge of Vijayanagar geography but also facilitate the work of reconstructing the ancient geography of South India.

The section on the Fort and the Siege would have been more realistic, if the full number and distribution of forts in the Vijayanagar empire, discussing their strategic importance, had been given. The arrangement of the army might have been compared with the warfare etc. portrayed on Vijayanagar monuments, particularly in the Hazara Rāma Temple.

Part II deals with social life. It is divided into five chapters : Society, Religion, Education and Literature, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting. The chapter on ' Society ' would have gained in importance, if, besides describing the functions of various Communities, full names etc. of these would have been given in the Appendix. For, from this all, future work on the migration of different Brāhmaṇa and other communities could have been

begun, whereas for the present, some definite knowledge would have been obtained about the probable strength of each community. The section on 'Dress' would have been more illuminating, if sculptural evidence could have been utilized in giving the idea of the dress of the Kings, the Queen, the common people and others.

The chapter on Religion sets out the various faiths that were existing in the empire. But Mr. Mahalingam does really injustice to Vallabha and his *Saṁpradāya*, when he summarises and quotes what Monier Williams wrote in the last century. Since then, numerous works of Vallabha himself and his immediate successors, on Vedānta, *Gītā* and Bhakti have been edited and published.¹ And students of comparative systems of Vedānta have shown that Vallabha represents more faithfully the views of Bādarāyaṇa than Śaṁkara or anybody else, whereas his Kṛṣṇa-bhakti, or complete self-surrender to Kṛṣṇa, if properly understood, stands on a very elevated plain. It is the examination of these works which should show whether the tradition about Vallabha's success in the court of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya could be credited on the merits of his works or not.

Mr. Mahalingam's work is certainly to be welcomed². As a postgraduate thesis, it does ample justice to him as a student and to his Teacher. If it is not exhaustive on certain details, as shown above, it is because the subject is too vast, and full materials are not yet available. The archæological sources alone, of which he gives a useful summary in the last chapter, require a separate monograph.³ We feel sure that this must be already contemplated by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri as a future work of his Department.

H. D. Sankalia

¹ They can be had at Gatulalaji's Library, Bhuleshwar, Bombay 4, while articles dealing with the philosophy of Vallabha are contributed by Prof. G. H. Bhatt to the Proceedings of the Oriental Conferences in the last couple of years.

² Though in some respects it covers the same field as the earlier work of Dr. Saletore.

³ Some 10 years ago, Mr. (now Dr.) R. N. Saletore had written a thesis on this subject under Father Heras, but owing to financial difficulties it has not been published.

D. R. BHANDARKAR VOLUME, Edited by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.R.G.S. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1940, pp. i-xxx+1-382.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar deserves the tribute which Dr. B. C. Law has paid in bringing out such a nice volume with the co-operation of Dr. Bhandarkar's admirers, friends and pupils. A scholar by natural inclination, Dr. Bhandarkar has joined indefatigable work to his keen intelligence as a result of which his versatility in Indology has become a distinguishing feature of his work. This has been succinctly indicated by Mr. Rao in the introductory article. But apart from that, what is really to be highly appreciated in him is the sympathy and understanding with which Dr. Bhandarkar receives youngsters in the field and encourages them in their work by putting at their disposal his wide experience and valuable advice. Above all one is struck by the complete absence in him of pride and the consequent coldness which characterise so many scholars.

The volume presented to such a scholar is indeed a mine of oriental studies. It deals with art, architecture, literature, grammar, *Alaṅkāra*, history, chronology, geography, anthropology, philosophy, epigraphy, numismatics and folklore.

In proto-Indian history Father Heras' comparison of a fertility symbol from Mohenjo-daro with similar symbols from Sumer, Crete and Egypt will appeal even to those who do not agree with his interpretation of the script. Prof. Raychaudhuri's article approaches a similar subject from literary sources.

Drs. Sten Konow and Lüders draw our attention to certain points in Indo-Greek and Kushana history.

An attempt is made to throw some light on Gujarāt's (including Kāthiāwār's) ancient history by Mr. Chatterjee and Dr. Hiranand Sastri. The former informs us from the *Pethavatthu* of one Piṅgala, who was a king of Surāṣṭranagara during the time of Aśoka. But Kauṭalya tells us that there was a Saṅgha (republic?) of Surāṣṭra! Dr. Sastri reedits and comments on a Kṣatrapa inscription from Mulawasar in Kāthiāwār, which was erected in memory of a dead hero. While it may be true that

this is the first dated *hero's* stone known to Indian history, we think, it is too presumptuous to argue from it that the practice of erecting memorial stones was borrowed from the Śakas, particularly when it is admitted that hundreds of such single (menhir-like) stones are found all over Western, Southern and Central India and when the idea of a glorious death is recommended in the Gītā, as quoted by Dr. Sastri. For all we know, many of these prehistoric and other monuments might have been erected to the memory of heroes, (as the earlier stūpas were to the memory of saints). If memorials (*laṣṭi*) to the dead were erected at Andhau, in Cutch, as already mentioned by Dr. Sastri, it is all the more probable that people would think of honouring the dead heroes in a similar fashion without any outside influence.

Articles on early mediæval history contain contributions on the W. Cālukyas, Guhilots and the Kalacūris and those on mediæval history deal with Gujarāt, Rājputānā and Delhi.

Ancient administrative studies are enriched by Dr. Chhabra and Mr. Dikshitar. The former explains the meaning and function of an Uparika on the strength of Bṛhaspati and his commentators.

Renewed attention is drawn to the Aryans, Brahuis and Dravidians by Dr. Ganganath Jha, and Mr. Roy respectively and to the study of Oriental and European folklore by Dr. E. J. Thomas. Mr. Ramachandran identifies certain coins as of the Śālaṅkāyana king Candavarman and Dr. Law tells us of the contemporaneity of certain kings of India and Ceylon.

H. D. Sankalia

KĀMSA VAHO OF RĀMA PĀNIVĀDA : A Prākṛit Poem
in Classical Style. Text and Chāyā critically edited for
the first time with Various Readings, Introduction, Tra-
nslation, and Notes, etc. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A.
D.Litt., and published by Hindi Grantha Ratnākara
Kāryālaya, Hirabag, Bombay 4, Crown : Pp. L + 213

We have here a very nice little volume of a 'Prākṛit Poem
in classical style' from the pen of Rāma Pānivāda (18th century
A. D.). He has also composed many works in Sanskrit, Prākṛit
and Malayalam.

Dr. Upadhye has edited the present work on the basis of Two
Manuscripts, and it is really a great achievement to reconstruct
a text on so scanty a material. And one must say that Dr.
Upadhye has done the task very neatly and thoroughly. In the
introduction he has dealt with every little problem regarding
the author, his date, works, his style and the Prākṛit of the Poem.
The Sanskrit Chāyā—probably the work of the author himself as
Dr. Upadhye suggests—Translation, Notes and glossary would
enable even a novice to master the text. Dr. Upadhye deserves
to be congratulated for bringing to light such a beautiful Prākṛit
Poem.

N. V. Vaidya

OBITUARY NOTICES

LORD GEORGE AMBROSE LLOYD

(1879-1941)

The authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute feel it their painful duty to record the sad demise on 5th Feb. 1941 of Lord Lloyd, the former Governor of Bombay and the President of the Institute for the triennium—1921-1924. It was during this period that many of the academic activities of the Institute were initiated and the services of Lord Lloyd (then Sir George Lloyd) towards the promotion of all these activities were very great. It may be remembered that the first Oriental Conference organised by the Institute was opened by Lord Lloyd on the 5th of November 1919. In this very year the work of the Institute on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata was inaugurated on the 1st of April by the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and the Institute received in the following year an annual grant for this work from the Government of Bombay mainly through the influence and personal solicitude of the late Lord Lloyd. It is unfortunate that such an energetic statesman whose initial sympathy and support in the academic activities of the Institute have contributed in no small way to their subsequent growth and expansion should be snatched away by the cruel hand of death at a time when his services were most needed for the British Empire !

P. K. Gode

SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON
(1852-1941)

In the demise of Sir George Grierson on the 8th of March 1941 the world of Oriental Scholars has sustained an irreparable loss. It was only in 1936 that a *Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* * was presented to him by his friends and admirers all over the world on the occasion of his 85th birthday, which fell on 7th January 1936. This volume is a token of the high esteem and admiration entertained by his confrères on account of his devoted labour in the cause of Indian Philology for over sixty years.

The achievements of Sir George in the field of his study were phenomenal and it was therefore in the fitness of things that many honours and decorations were showered on him especially during the latter part of his career. He was the recipient of many honorary degrees from learned bodies in Europe, America and India and was an honorary member of many distinguished academies of the world. Among his honors from Indian bodies we may mention his Honorary Fellowship of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Honorary Membership of the Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā (Benares), the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, the Modern Language Association, Linguistic Society of India and the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad. He was also the recipient of the Campbell Memorial Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay) and the Sir William Jones Gold Medal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These honours from India amply show that India was not lacking in enthusiasm to do honour to this great savant in recognition of his services to Indian philology.

As the work of a scholar-administrator belonging to the older generation of the Indian Civil Service, which often distinguished itself for scholarship, his work may be looked

* Vide Parts 2 and 3 of Vol. VIII of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (University of London) 1936, pp. 297-381.

upon as the crowning glory of the scholarship displayed by the members of this 'heaven-born' service. He was appointed as a member of this service in his twenty-third year. Since this appointment he lost no time in devoting all his leisure to the study of the innumerable languages and dialects of India. As will be seen from the list of his published writings incorporated in the volume presented to him, Sir George published his first paper on Kālidāsa in 1877, and since that year the number of his writings increased with the growth of his scholarship and versatility of his interests. The Bibliography of his writings extending over twenty pages of the volume referred to above shows at a glance the magnitude of his achievements, the profundity of his learning, not to say his complete mastery over the complexities of no less than two hundred dialects of India. He was specially proficient in the languages of North West India and compiled many grammars of known and unknown languages, besides translating numerous Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan texts. By his deep study of Indian Vernaculars he has stimulated in Indian scholars a just pride for their living heritage of vernacular literature and the future of Indian philology seems to be bright owing to the stature given to the Indian vernaculars by the researches of the great linguist, which culminated in the monumental production of the 20 volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India*. It is only of recent years that the study of languages on strictly scientific lines has been attracting the attention of Indian Universities and the influence of the methodical studies of the late Sir George Grierson in this field will not fail to make its mark on all linguistic pursuits worth the name connected with Indian vernaculars.

P. K. Gode



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